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THE CHURCHES OF SYRIAN ANTIOCH (300-638 CE)

by

Wendy Mayer & Pauline Allen



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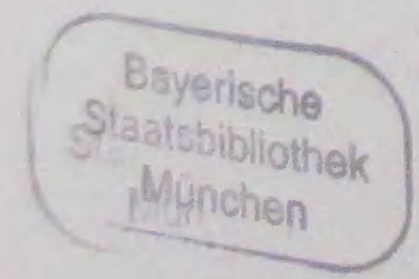
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We both acknowledge our affiliation with the Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University, and Pauline Allen acknowledges her affiliation as Research Associate with the Department of Ancient Languages, University of Pretoria.

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PREFACE

Over the past decade, as Pauline Allen and I have laboured individually and collaboratively on setting carefully in their social context the figures of John Chrysostom (born at Antioch c. 350, presbyter of Antioch 386-97) and Severus of Antioch (patriarch 512-18), this is the kind of book that we had hoped that someone else would provide. Previously, when one sought information about the churches of Antioch prior to the period of Umayyad rule, there existed no single reference to which one could turn. The process of eliciting data instead involved scanning secondary sources as disparate and dated as the pages and appendices of Glanville Downey's *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (1961), Robert Devreesse's *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'église jusqu'à la conquête arabe* (1945), Anton Baumstark's two articles on the liturgical calendar at Antioch in the early sixth century,¹ and Walther Eltester's brief literary survey of the situation in the fourth century.² Pierre Maraval's account of holy places and pilgrimage in the East to the Arab conquest proved another frustrating source, in that he lists the martyria and shrines by the names not of the churches but of the saints.³ Reading the reports from the Princeton excavation of Antioch in the 1930s and scanning a wide variety of primary sources in a number of languages was required to complete the picture.

Our aim is thus to fill that gap and finally to assemble in one location reference to all of the extant sources—literary and material—concerning the churches and related Christian worship sites at Antioch. In the process of assembling that material we began to note recurring influences on the building, use and development of these sites, such as factionalism within the Antiochene Christian community, competition between different religious groups, imperial and private patronage, and the impact on Antioch of natural disasters and war. At the same time, Baumstark's discussion of the use of different churches for particular liturgical occasions in the sixth century is now dated, while the comparable study of

1. Anton Baumstark, 'Das Kirchenjahr', and idem, 'Der antiochenische Festkalender des frühen sechsten Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 3 (1925), pp. 123-45.

2. Walther Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias im IV. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 36 (1937), pp. 251-86.

3. Pierre Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1968), pp. 317-42.

the churches with respect to their statal use during martyr festivals in the fourth century produced in 2006 on the basis of data in the homilies of John Chrysostom by Emmanuel Sauter at times utilizes dated sources and is in any case difficult to obtain.⁴ These factors have prompted us to extend our survey to include analysis of the data from a number of perspectives, both for our own interest and in the hope that this will increase the usefulness of this reference work for other scholars.

Without the generous assistance of Dumbarton Oaks this book would remain little more than a note among many on the lists that Pauline Allen and I have assembled over the years of books and articles to write, dependent on funding and time. The award by Dumbarton Oaks of a fellowship in Byzantine Studies for the academic year 2006/07 enabled me to immerse myself in the rich resources that they hold in their library, photograph and museum collections. The contribution of Alan Walmsley, a specialist in the material culture of Jordan and Syria with a wide knowledge of the region and context, who was a fellow at Dumbarton Oaks at the same time, has been invaluable, as have also the many conversations with the other fellows, who were able to contribute insights from their own disciplines and areas of expertise. Alan Walmsley provided assistance with Arabic sources. Pagona Papadopoulou showed me how to locate and negotiate the standard reference works for late Roman and Byzantine numismatics. Dimitri Korobeinikov kindly helped with Syriac transliteration systems.

I am equally indebted to Arletta Papaconstantinou for alerting me to the debate concerning the Daniel textile. Even though it is now clear that it is irrelevant to the topic of this book, it is nonetheless important to note that its topographical border was once thought to depict churches from Antioch. Her assistance with understanding the milieu in which Coptic hagiography arises has also been invaluable. The assistance of Brian Kenfield, Curator of the Research Photographs collection at Princeton University, which houses the Antioch Archive, has also been much appreciated. The two days that I was able to spend in November 2006 making my way through the unpublished photographs, loose files, drawings and field notes was an invaluable corrective to the data derived from the published archaeological reports. I am also indebted to Michael Depaepe, curator of the photographic collection at Ghent University, for his and also a scholar of the liturgical planning of churches. He has influenced in

talking through the possibilities in regard to the liturgical layout and function of the churches of St Babylas, at Machouka, and in the lower city of Seleucia Pieria. David Woods and Rudolf Haensch made available to me articles in advance of publication for which I am deeply grateful. In addition, David alerted me to the existence of the articles by Raimondi and Agosti. I am similarly grateful to Catherine Saliou for alerting me to the article by Triebel. It is doubtful whether I would have come across these otherwise. Gunnar Brands has been generous with his correspondence and conversation about the findings of the as yet unpublished topographic survey of Antioch (2004–2008). Frédéric Alpi kindly made available to me his recently published monograph and an article that I had overlooked. Klaus-Peter Todt generously provided a copy of the paper on mediaeval Antioch that he delivered at the first meeting of the Lexicon Topographicum Antiochenum project team in Paris, January 2010, which contained reference to a number of sources concerning the Church of Cassian at that period of which I was unaware. Finally, we owe a major debt to Dinah Joeseof, administrative assistant extraordinaire in the Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University, Brisbane Campus, to Robyn and John Farrell, editors of Australian and NZ Defender Magazine, and to Karen Rasmussen of Archeographics. Dinah assisted with both illustrations and preparation of the manuscript for publication. Robyn and John assisted with the illustrations and photographic images and are responsible for enhancing the detail in the photographs from the 1930s excavation. Karen vastly improved upon my own attempts at maps and illustrations. Without their expertise and professional advice the illustrations would have been fewer in number and of poorer quality.

In June 2008 at the invitation of Tina Shepardson (University of Tennessee, Knoxville), Dayna Kalleres (University of California, San Diego) and I spent seven days exploring the topography of modern Antakya and visiting the few visible remains from the late antique period that survive in the city and immediate region. The hospitality provided by Padre Domenico Bertogli, priest of the Katolik Kilisesi, enriched the experience considerably, as did our conversations with him about Antioch's Christian history. It was he who alerted me to the history of the Habib Neccar mosque and enabled me to draw a possible link to the site of the Church of Cassian.

It is perhaps also helpful for the reader to learn that the bulk of the manuscript was prepared in 2007–2008. It was revised and updated in late 2010 to take into account publications that appeared in the interim and conversations with fellow scholars on the topography of Antioch that

⁴ Emmanuel Sauter, *Le Sacré et le saint à Antioche au IV^e siècle apr. J.-C.* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2006), 10–11. Sauter also discusses the importance of the Daniel textile in the context of the Christianization of the city and the role of the emperor Constantine in the process.

took place in Paris and at Dumbarton Oaks in 2010 (Pour un *Lexicon Topographicum Antiochenum*: Les sources de l'histoire du paysage urbain d'Antioche sur l'Oronte, 20-21 septembre 2010, Université de Paris-8; Antioch Study Day, Dumbarton Oaks, Georgetown, 16 April 2010; and Les sources textuelles de l'histoire urbaine d'Antioche sur l'Oronte pour un *Lexicon Topographicum Antiochenum*, Atelier international, jeudi 21 et vendredi 22 janvier 2010, Paris-8/ENS). In dividing up the work for this book, I am largely responsible for the introductory material and the analysis of the sources in Part One and for much of Part Three. Providing the expertise for the period up to the mid-fifth century, particularly Antioch in the second half of the fourth century (the time of Libanius and John Chrysostom) has also been my responsibility. Pauline Allen, whose research on the post-Chalcedonian period, on Evagrius Scholasticus, and on Severus of Antioch is authoritative, has provided the expertise for the period from 451 CE onwards, and is the author of the material in Part Two that concerns that period. She also located and collated many of the sources for Part One. Many of the ideas expressed in this book are the result of mutual conversation. We take shared responsibility for any errors that occur. We list one final caveat. Neither Pauline nor I am an archaeologist or art historian by training. We are both philologists more comfortable working with documentary and literary sources. Producing the synthesis that follows and handling illustrations has at times taken us far out of our comfort zone. We hope that specialists of these other fields will point out our failings with kindness both in their review of this book and when they publish their own material correcting and supplementing our work.

Wendy MAYER
December 2010

INTRODUCTION

SYRIAN ANTIOCH

A question that will inevitably be asked by the reader who picks up this book is: why devote a volume to the churches of Antioch? In addition to the obvious answer that two significant figures in eastern Christianity (John Chrysostom and Severus) preached in them and that no book on the topic currently exists, there are a number of reasons why the subject is of interest to scholars from a range of disciplines. The most compelling reason is the city itself. For centuries prior to Antioch's foundation the Amuq Valley in which it is situated played a significant role in facilitating communication and trade between the upper Tigris and Euphrates River systems and the Mediterranean Sea (fig. 1). Of the two main passes over the Ammanus Mountain range, the one known as 'the Syrian Gates' (Beylan) enables communication between the Amuq region and southern coastal Cilicia via Alexandretta. As a northern extension of the African Rift Valley, the Amuq [moreover] provides access between the high alpine highlands of [present-day] eastern Turkey, the Caucasus region, and the inland river valleys of Israel, Jordan and farther to Egypt.¹ In terms of its situation within north-western Syria, then, Antioch was strategically placed for communication with a wide arc across the eastern Mediterranean. After Seleucia Pieria and Antioch were founded in succession by Seleucus I Nicator between 301 and 299 CE, it is no accident that, with a river that had with assistance been made navigable in between and access to the resources of the upper Amuq Valley, Antioch soon surpassed in size and status Seleucia, its Mediterranean port.² By the second century CE, Seleucia Pieria had achieved the status of one of the two most important ports in the eastern Mediterranean (the other being Alexandria), due to its role as the conduit for the shipment of grain from provinces in Syria and Mesopotamia to Rome and as the Roman naval base in control of maritime trade from the northern Levant to the West.³ As a result of its access to the sea and strategic position along

1. Kutha Aslıhan Yener, *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects. I. Surveys in the Plains of Antioch and the Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995-2002* (Oriental Institute Publications 133, Chicago, 2005), p. 2.

2. See Kevin Butcher, *Roman Syria and the Near East* (London, 2003), pp. 102-106.

3. Pamir, in Yener, *The Amuq Valley*, p. 74.

conducted at the ancient site of the city and its suburb Daphne took place in the 1930s and has not as yet been revised or extended.²¹ The recently established Amuq Valley Regional Projects (1995–) conducted primarily by the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago²² and the Orontes Survey (1999–) led by Hatice Pamir at Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi, Antakya in collaboration with Iont Wilkinson and Aslihan Yener,²³ concentrate on sites on the plain of Antioch and the Orontes Delta, rather than on Antioch itself. The joint project by Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi and Martin Luther Universität Halle Wittenberg launched in 2004, which does focus on Antioch, Seleucia Pieria and the Seleucid settlement of Epiphania, has concentrated in its initial phase (2004–2008) on producing an accurate topographical survey of the ancient city including the 1930s excavation sites.²⁴ New systematic excavation of the city and its suburbs still lies in the future. Further the archaeological work under taken by the 1930s Princeton Expedition was constrained by a number of factors. In 1938 political events resulted in the local imposition of military law and necessitated the evacuation of the American and French members of the team to Beirut leading to the rapid dispersal of funds and cutting short that season's dig. That same year the watercourse

Parmenius, which, during rain storms, flows as a torrent from Mt Silpius through the city, demonstrated its capacity, flooding the dig at Antioch, although the weather system was local and did not affect the work at the Orontes port city of Seleucia Pieria.²⁵ The effect of the flow of such cataract over the intervening centuries and periodic flooding of the Orontes also significantly constrained the extent and nature of the sites at Antioch that were surveyed. By the early twentieth century much of the old city had become buried beneath alluvial deposits extending in places to a depth of eleven metres. When combined with a high water table for a significant portion of the season in each year devoted to the survey, access to some sectors of the old city was severely impeded.²⁶ A similar situation was encountered at Seleucia Pieria in the lower city. Economic and public relations considerations also played a role. As Christine Kondoleon observes, the team had secured permission to excavate on the expectation of finding the great monuments of the literary sources. When these proved elusive, both funding and permission were threatened and it took the discovery of the first of the significant mosaics to restore credit. The subsequent direction of investigation was substantially altered and the original topographical focus became diffused by exploration of the mosaic riches of Antioch and Daphne.²⁷ Finally, the outbreak of World War II and the annexation of the region by Turkey prematurely terminated this work.

As a result of a combination of these factors, only four churches or martyria from our period were excavated,²⁸ none inside the walls of Antioch itself. Of these, only two were examined with any thoroughness and only one can be identified with any certainty. The material evidence remains silent about the Great Church, the Palaia, the Church of the Maccabees and the numerous martyria of which we receive tantalizing glimpses in the literary sources. This brings us to a second set of problems—that the bulk of the evidence is literary and that the connection between the literary and material evidence is tenuous at best. The piecemeal nature of the archaeological work and its limitations leave us with a lack of reliable economic, architectural and social data against which to test the literary evidence. As we will see shortly, the literary sources are associated with significant problems of their own. The uneven bias of

For the report see: H. Pamir and P. Allen, 'The Orontes Delta, Antakya, An Archaeological Survey of Ancient Trade Stations/Settlements', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 67 (2008), 1–4. Princeton 1934: H. H. Wood, *The Excavations at Antakya, 1934* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934). Pamir and Allen, 'The Orontes Delta, Antakya, An Archaeological Survey of Ancient Trade Stations/Settlements', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 67 (2008), 1–4.

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²¹ H. H. Wood, *The Excavations at Antakya, 1934* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934).
²² H. H. Wood, *The Excavations at Antakya, 1934* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934).
²³ H. Pamir and P. Allen, 'The Orontes Delta, Antakya, An Archaeological Survey of Ancient Trade Stations/Settlements', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 67 (2008), 1–4.
²⁴ H. Pamir and P. Allen, 'The Orontes Delta, Antakya, An Archaeological Survey of Ancient Trade Stations/Settlements', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 67 (2008), 1–4.
²⁵ H. H. Wood, *The Excavations at Antakya, 1934* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934).
²⁶ H. H. Wood, *The Excavations at Antakya, 1934* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934).
²⁷ H. H. Wood, *The Excavations at Antakya, 1934* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934).
²⁸ H. H. Wood, *The Excavations at Antakya, 1934* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934).

the sources can be said to leave us with two fragmentary pictures of the same subject. ■■■■ few of the existing portions of which align, from which we must somehow assemble a single picture that makes sense.

THE SCOPE OF THE PROJECT

Before we discuss the character of the sources and their limitations in greater depth it is important to define what lies within this survey of the Christian sites of worship at Antioch and what does not. It is also important to point out that while there is some justification for the upper chronological limit of the survey, the establishment of that particular *terminus a quo* may give a false impression of decline or of the termination of Christian worship within the city and serve to obscure continuity with the centuries beyond.

Firstly, however, we must explain what we mean by church. For the purposes of this survey the term church includes within its semantic range any building used regularly by the local Christian communities for worship, and any shrine or building associated with a saint that is used at least once a year for public worship on a saint's festival. The use of such sites for private devotion on other occasions fits within this conceptual range. Also included are public spaces used for ordinary worship at times when church buildings were unavailable, and included in the analysis in Part Three, but not in the survey in Part One, are the public spaces used during the processions associated with stational liturgies. Excluded are buildings and spaces used for worship by monastic or ascetical communities, thus what we are primarily concerned with are the buildings and sites widely used by the local Christian community, rather than those that were restricted in use to particular groups.

Secondly, we must define the geographical scope of the survey. Why we must mean by this is not clear, but it is clear that the survey is not intended to be a comprehensive one, but rather a selective one. The survey is not intended to be a comprehensive one, but rather a selective one. The survey is not intended to be a comprehensive one, but rather a selective one.

Thirdly, we must define the chronological scope of the survey. The survey is not intended to be a comprehensive one, but rather a selective one. The survey is not intended to be a comprehensive one, but rather a selective one.

Fourthly, we must define the methodological scope of the survey. The survey is not intended to be a comprehensive one, but rather a selective one. The survey is not intended to be a comprehensive one, but rather a selective one.

Fifthly, we must define the theoretical scope of the survey. The survey is not intended to be a comprehensive one, but rather a selective one. The survey is not intended to be a comprehensive one, but rather a selective one.

Sixthly, we must define the practical scope of the survey. The survey is not intended to be a comprehensive one, but rather a selective one. The survey is not intended to be a comprehensive one, but rather a selective one.

Seventhly, we must define the ethical scope of the survey. The survey is not intended to be a comprehensive one, but rather a selective one. The survey is not intended to be a comprehensive one, but rather a selective one.

Eighthly, we must define the political scope of the survey. The survey is not intended to be a comprehensive one, but rather a selective one. The survey is not intended to be a comprehensive one, but rather a selective one.

These are difficult questions to answer. One solution might be to define the boundaries linguistically. As long as Greek was spoken, a person remained within Antiochene space. As soon as Syriac became the primary language, one had moved beyond it.³¹ This definition proves less than useful, however, as the epigraphic evidence indicates that the linguistic situation in the countryside was more complex than the literary sources portray.³² We do know that conceptually and in practical terms Daphne was considered an extension of the city. The Syrian Olympic Games were partly held at a stadium in Daphne and partly at a stadium on the island in the Orontes, with a procession of the athletes from one to the other location.³³ The newly discovered satellite community,³⁴ situated on a plateau on the top of Mt Staurin and enclosed by its own walls (fig. 2), is likely to have functioned in a similar way. This allows us to think of Antioch as not just the area inside the city walls, but also the territory stretching from the cemetery outside the walls in the south west up to and including the outer limits of Daphne and the territory up the sides of both Mt Silpius and Mt Staurin, including the top of Mt Staurin. The proliferation of martyr shrines and churches in cemeteries during the fourth century, which were regularly used within the annual liturgical cycle, is well attested for Antioch,³⁵ and so it is important to include any cemeteries in the immediate vicinity of Antioch and also Daphne. The *campus martius* of Antioch was located outside the city walls across the Orontes, as was also situated the Church at Qausiyeh (Church of St Babylas?), and so we need also to include a reasonable area along the western bank of the Orontes to at least the length of the area enclosed by the city walls.³⁶

31. John Chrysostom, a native of Antioch who lived there in the second half of the fourth century, himself used this definition. See John Chrysostom, *On the Priesthood*, 1.1, where different uses of language are mentioned to distinguish the inhabitants of the city from those who live in the countryside and in the mountains.

32. Epiphanius, *Against Heresies*, 5.26.1, where he mentions that Antiochene Christians who lived in the countryside and in the mountains used Syriac and Greek in their liturgical practices. See also Epiphanius, *Against Heresies*, 5.26.2, where he mentions that Antiochene Christians who lived in the countryside and in the mountains used Syriac and Greek in their liturgical practices.

33. See the inscription from the stadium in Daphne, which mentions the Syrian Olympic Games. See also the inscription from the stadium on the island in the Orontes, which mentions the Syrian Olympic Games.

34. See the inscription from the plateau on the top of Mt Staurin, which mentions the newly discovered satellite community.

35. See the inscription from the cemetery in Antioch, which mentions the proliferation of martyr shrines and churches in cemeteries during the fourth century.

36. See the inscription from the cemetery in Antioch, which mentions the proliferation of martyr shrines and churches in cemeteries during the fourth century.

How we should view the local problems that beset Antioch at the latter end of our survey in light of this re-reading of the material evidence for the region is a question that will become important in Part Two. This is especially the case when we consider the preliminary conclusions of the team conducting the Amuq Valley Regional Projects, which recently revisited the northern suburbs of Antioch in brief as part of its survey. They note that in tandem with the abandonment of a large number of towns and villages in the Amuq Valley at this period Antioch became much reduced in size although these developments must be placed in the context of the growth at this same period of other urban centres and

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47 Yener, *The Aring Valley*, pp. 44-45.

57. See Hattice Pamir's report on the Orontes Delta survey in Yener, *The Umm al-Qayyir Excavations*, p. 97–98, and in particular the conclusion drawn on p. 75. Seleucia Pieria had supplanted two earlier ports (al-Mina and Sabuntel) and so a shift in the focus of settlement from al-Mina following the sixth century is significant. Vorderstrasse, *Umm al-Qayyir*, p. 68–69, is more cautious, arguing that in earlier archaeological work at the site several coarse wares from the fourth to the sixth and the seventh to the eighth centuries were largely discarded. Our own finding regarding the third of a repaired mosaic in the church in the upper city of Seleucia Pieria (see *Fig. 1* and p. 100) may also indicate that the port continued to function into at least the seventh century.

50. Butcher, *Roman Syria*, pp. 123–26, for instance, takes this approach, stressing both that in the sixth century AD Syria was already suffering for a number of reasons, and that under Umar and his son al-Walid it was the seat of power of a more than 500,000-man eighth-century expedition from Spain to the Indies with Damascus as a base. He views the takeover of Syria as relatively benign, although his volume suggests that while other cities and regions of Syria prospered, producing and maintaining, in his definition, Antiochian wealth, the countryside was well, or even overpopulated, and the rural population had no voice in the government, while the concentration of power in the capital came from Antioch, Damascus and the cities of Syria, Iraq and Persia, with little room for economic competition. The only other offer of a more benign government, extended by the commander-in-chief of Antioch, came in the form of a more lenient treatment of the non-Muslim population, but this was not to be. In his view, the concentration of power in Damascus, Iraq, Persia and the cities of Syria produced a third Syria, one dominated by the non-Muslim population of the Middle East, Iraq, Persia and the cities of Syria, Iraq and Persia. (Butcher, *Roman Syria*, p. 123–26, esp. p. 124, for a more detailed discussion of the concentration of power in Damascus, Iraq, Persia and the cities of Syria, Iraq and Persia.)

14. John Haldon (ed.) *Money, Power and Politics in Early Islamic Syria* (Review
 J. Curran 112). Aldershot 2001. Alan Walmsley. Economic Developments and the
 Nature of Settlement in the Towns and Countryside of Syria-Palestine ca. 565-800 (C.E.).
 Oxf. 2000. pp. 314. Estel·l Villeneuve & Pamela Watson (eds.) *La ceramique
 byzantine et perso-iranique en Syrie-Jordanie IV-VII* (ap·re I.-C.) actes du
 colloque tenu a Amman les 1-4 decembre 1994 (Beirut 2001). 220 pp. 120 francs and
 Paul Key-Casagrat. *Le monde arabe au VII^e siecle* (VII^e cent.). Actes du colloque
 tenu a Lyon, Mars 2001 (Orient, Mediterran·e). Paris: Institut du monde arabe,
 edition du Centre d'arch·eologie islamique 192. 111 pp. 110 francs. Fran·ois Trombley. Demographic
 Rural Transition in the Levant (1970-1990). Paris: Centre de Recherches
 de l'Institut du monde arabe 1999. 111 pp. 110 francs. Bernadette Cabot.
Le monde arabe au VII^e siecle (VII^e cent.). Paris: Institut du monde arabe,
 edition du Centre d'arch·eologie islamique 192. 111 pp. 110 francs. Histoire images
 du monde arabe au VII^e siecle (VII^e cent.). Paris: Institut du monde arabe,
 edition du Centre d'arch·eologie islamique 192. 111 pp. 110 francs. that the

As already mentioned, the preponderance of the sources for Christian sites of worship at Antioch from the second to the seventh centuries is literary. Only a small amount of archaeological evidence exists. This is in the form of architectural evidence (site plans, and analyses of building phases, masonry and construction techniques) and evidence of decorative features, namely floor mosaics. Marble pavement and fragments of revetments. In three of the churches excavated the mosaics included inscriptions. In the case of only one of the four, however, is the evidence straightforward and open to only a limited range of interpretation. The four churches excavated were a building in the lower hall of Seleucia Pieria identified initially as a martyrium (20/21), the Church at Qausiyeh across the Orontes near the road to Qausiyeh (12/13-E/G); the Church at Machouka, near the road to Berora (located variously at 9U/V/V/W) and a building located in the upper city of Seleucia Pieria (17-18) (figs. 1-5). In the case of the martyrium at Seleucia Pieria problems with high living water, time, and an overlying more recent structure meant that the full extent of the complex could not be traced.

decline (survival in the 10th century), per cent on a reduced scale, further decline in the ninth and tenth centuries, and a significant revival from the late tenth to twelfth

¹⁴ W. A. Anderson, *On the Orontes* 2, 5. See Levi Mosad, *Movements* 1 pp. 167-69 and 2.

photos of the floor-plan and photographs of the area (located at 9V) as well as Sheila Campbell.

⁸ Macvalis 15; Toronto 1988), p. 12, who inventories the mosaics but locates the site at

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nor could excavations be conducted beyond a superficial depth. In the case of the Church at Machouka and the church in the upper city of Seleucia, excavations were undertaken in haste for a number of reasons and little, if any, of the results were written up for publication.⁵⁵ The structures of the churches that were excavated to some degree vary in form from a central-plan tetraconch with projecting wing to cruciform to a classical three-aisled basilica. The absence of material evidence or even confirmation of the site of the Great Church, the Palais, the Church of the Maccabees within the Antiochene city walls, any of the numerous martyria within or in the vicinity of its cemeteries, or any of the churches and martyria in Daphne has already been mentioned.

The literary evidence is varied in genre and often requires a delicate understanding of the constraints involved, if one is to interpret it reliably. Homilies, ecclesiastical histories, military histories, chronicles, hagiographies and panegyrics provide the bulk of the evidence. *Itineraria* (travel diaries) and the occasional letter provide some marginal evidence. Each genre is associated with its own set of methodological problems. Chronicles and ecclesiastical histories, for instance, often went through several editions as they were produced and the quality of the data they contain is reliant on the sources that they used.³⁶ In the case of chronicles, in particular, the later the document, the greater the likelihood of error in the data for centuries remote in time from the period of production, particularly in regard to the issue of date.³⁷ Knowledge of the chronicler's/historian's sources is thus an important key to interpretation. The agenda of the author/s is also significant. Thus John Malalas, who writes from the perspective of Antioch for much of the first edition of his work, is an important and much relied upon source, but his Antiochene bias leads him to present an aggrandized and mythologized account of the city's origins.³⁸ John of Nikiu, a Coptic bishop of the later seventh century, on

55. The church in Selemaia (upper city) was discovered on Tuesday last day of the last year of excavation and only a very cursory inspection could be made (see also *Mineralogisch-Palaeontolog.* p. 482, n. 746). See also the main published source for the church, *in* *Mayhank*.

10. Ulaganathan-Schubert, for instance, who in the 1940s produced an encyclopaedic history of world-wide experience (most knowledge of English, based much on the earlier information on India, China, Japan, Korea, comes here), in this century, wrote:

[illegible]

the other hand writes as an anti-Chalcedonian and so his account of events at Antioch (under the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE) is filtered through that perspective. This latter chronicle also demonstrates the difficulties that can attach to the survival of such works. Written originally in Greek and perhaps also partly in Coptic, it was translated from Greek into Arabic around 1602 from Arabic into Ethiopic. This late Ethiopic translation is the only version that survives. What we have available to us is thus at two removes from the original document. In the process of transmission moreover large portions of the chronicle have been lost.⁶³ Similarly what appears to be an early edition of the chronicle of John Malalas in its original Greek was translated into Old Slavonic and subsequently excerpted while the Greek text was subsequently modified, with the result that the Slavonic although no longer complete at times witnesses to material that no longer survives in the Greek.

Navigating the relationship between histories for which the period of chronological focus is the same can add another layer of complexity. Thus in the case of the ecclesiastical historians Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen, who produced their histories within a short time span of each other, it is important to know that while Sozomen utilizes the *HE* of Socrates to a substantial degree he reworks Socrates' material in such a way as to discredit it in favour of his own seemingly more objective and dispassionate account. The two historians have different agendas.

back. In: *Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu* translated from

63. See also Franklyn Malala in Slavonic in Elizabeth Jeffreys with Brian Croke (eds.), *Studies in John Malala: Byzantina Australiensia* 5 (Sydney 1990).

(iii) the use of this debate but both appear to date it around the 440s. Sozomen, who dedicated his *HE* to Theodosius II, dates it to the late 440s. But post date the latter. It is not clear if it occurred in the late 440s or early 450s. It ranges for

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Socrates, who writes from a Novatian perspective,⁶⁴ is interested in seeking to demonstrate the importance of the unity of church and empire and the harmful effects of dissension,⁶⁵ with the result that theological disputes, schismatic behaviour and the effects on the empire of barbarian incursion are accorded a degree of prominence. Sozomen displays a greater interest in monasticism,⁶⁶ introduces hagiographical material, and at times adopts Socrates' account wholesale; at others, he reworks it so that events are presented in a more favourable light.⁶⁷ Even though they cover much of the same material and the second is highly derivative of the first, the two must be viewed independently. Despite being the product of a native of Antioch, the *HE* of Theodoret, also produced at this time,⁶⁸ tells us considerably less about events at that location. Theodoret's agenda is different yet again, being in part to vindicate his own theological position.⁶⁹ To make matters even more complicated, the recent editor of Malalas' *Chronographia*, Thurn, restores the Greek from the Slavonic in places where the Slavonic is fuller, employing reverse

63. Confirmed at length by Martin Wallraff, *Der Kirchenhistoriker Sokrates: Untersuchungen zu Geschichtsdarstellung, Methode und Person* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 68, Göttingen, 1997), pp. 235–54, who argues that Socrates' *Historia ecclesiastica* and should therefore not be too highly stressed. Van Nuffelen, *Un heritage de paix*, pp. 14–16, carefully documents the pro-Novatian sympathies of the circle in which Socrates moved at Constantinople, but views him as more proactive in promoting a Novatian agenda.

64. The conclusion of Urbainczyk, *Socrates of Constantinople*, Van Nuffelen, *Un heritage de paix*, pp. 105–124, offers a more nuanced view of Socrates' agenda on this regard.

65. For the role of monasticism in Socrates' overriding theme of the Christian revolution see Van Nuffelen, *Un heritage de paix*, pp. 128–33.

66. See Gunther C. Hansen, *Sozomenos, Historien byzantinska, Kirchengeschichte* (Fontes Christiani 73/4, 4 vols; Turnhout, 2004), I, pp. 29–32.

67. Barnes, *Constantine and Constantius*, p. 208, dates it to the late 440s, locating it before the completion by Sozomenos of his own *HE*. Brian Croke, 'Dating Theodoret's *Church History* and *Commentary on the Psalms*', *Byz* 33 (1984), pp. 59–71, esp. p. 73, who narrows it to 441–45 July 145, the terminus of the period within which the histories, unlikely to have been produced before, that it post-dates Sozomen's *Historia ecclesiastica*. Van Nuffelen, *Un heritage de paix*, pp. 128–33, argues that it is the same as the one in the *Chronographia* of Theodoret (p. 128).

68. The conclusion of Urbainczyk, *Socrates of Constantinople*, Van Nuffelen, *Un heritage de paix*, pp. 105–124, offers a more nuanced view of Socrates' agenda on this regard.

69. The conclusion of Urbainczyk, *Socrates of Constantinople*, Van Nuffelen, *Un heritage de paix*, pp. 105–124, offers a more nuanced view of Socrates' agenda on this regard.

whether that picture is most to be kept. The kinds of data found in hagiographies material often differ in detail but little in substance from those found in chronicles, histories and homilies. Most often they refer to the building itself or the use to which a particular building is put. Interpretation of the data embedded within such texts however can involve substantial difficulty. Firstly, the date/location of the subject matter of a hagiography and the date/location of its composition do not always coincide. Where this is the case it becomes important to distinguish between the two and to determine whether the data is more likely to reflect the period/locale described or the period/locale at which the hagiography was composed. A case in point is the legend of Ma Qardagh the acts of a Persian martyr recorded in the Sassanian period. As Joel Walker who has recently analyzed it, demonstrate while the hagiography has no historical value for the period it purports to describe it nonetheless proves to be a valuable resource concerning the cultural history of the period at which it was written down. One of the more important skills involved in reading hagiographical text thus lies in determining the correct set of questions. Secondly often the author of a hagiography cannot be identified leading to difficulty dating the text at the first instance. This in turn impacts on our capacity to assess from what angle a text is best read. In the case of the Life of Symeon Stylites the Younger, where the author claims to be a disciple of Symeon such claims can

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also be a literary topos,⁷⁶ and there is little to indicate in this instance whether it is fact or fiction.⁷⁷ If it is fact and the life was composed shortly after Symeon's death (592),⁸⁰ then the text contains important information concerning Antioch in the critical sixth century. It not only then the data contained in this *Vita* can only be used with considerable care. Thirdly, like chronicles and histories, the fixed (written) form in which we receive a hagiography is often the result of multiple recensions. Stories passed down orally gain accretions and eventually receive a static form in one or more written texts. In the process, different communities may appropriate the story for their own purposes. So in the case of the *Life of Symeon Stylites the Elder* three versions distinctly different in character and anecdotes survive of which the earliest Syriac version and the Greek text purportedly written by his disciple Antony supply two different accounts of where Symeon's body was buried on arrival at Antioch.⁸¹ The Greek account deliberately inserts into the series of events a church unmentioned in the record at the time of Symeon's death (459) but which later had significance for the community within which the Greek *Life* developed.⁸² The two texts are nonetheless closely related versions of the same story. Fourthly, as in the case of Pelagia of Antioch, we can also have two different sets of stories that become attached to a single person, causing confusion in the tradition,⁸³ and which must be separated out into individual strands. Finally, the development of a rapport between Alexandria and Antioch due to a shared anti-Chalcedonian stance led in the seventh to eighth centuries (the height of Coptic hagiographical production) to the development

78. So in the *Practica spiritualis* John Moschus records a story about John Chrysostom that he claims to have heard from Abba Athanasius, whom he mentions to have been the nephew of Adelphios, whose sister is said to have played a role in John's exile (chapter 1, 18, P.G. 28, 299).¹⁰ That passage has the difficulty of identifying Asinapetes as bishop of Adana since the *Prosopographia Imperatoris Byzantini* (p. 135, P.G. 26, 255) identifies bishop of the same name as a contemporary of the emperor Justinian (527–565). The bishop of the same name, Orestes, who is mentioned in a manuscript that Chrysostom's three generations is connected with the founding of 200 years.

80 Van der Ven, L., *et al.* (1998): p. 108, finds irregularities in the language of the Vatican that is the *Chicago* apostrophe, which is covered, and from in the first three of the seven chapters.

[illegible]

The second topographical border is preserved on the Berlin Daniel textile, a piece of red linen of Egyptian provenance in which a central panel depicting Daniel and two lions is bordered at the top and bottom by panels of uniformly depicted churches. In these borders it is the name of the buildings rather than the stereotypically represented buildings themselves that have excited attention and led to the attribution of the church to Antioch. No date for the textile is offered by the original editor, Strzykowski, although given the Egyptian provenance, it is to

to these two topographical borders for the reasons
 they legends in even within Coptic hagiography that
 situate martyrs or shrines of Egyptian saints at Antioch are
 "the martyrs of the Basilides cycle—Basilides, Anatolius,
 Isenius, Macarius Iustus, Theodore the Oriental, Apater
 Claudius, Victor—who are all situated at Antioch under
 the legendary material concerning Victor in particular
 on a shrine or church at Antioch dedicated to him."¹⁶ A cult of

PAPACONSTANTINO: ON the Egypt. . . .
 not from Die Inschriften p. 98
 ple there existed a Great Church.
 arrival of Acacius and Susanna PAPAconstanti-
 point that church of Victor Stephen and
 that the cult of Victor was particularly prevalent

Victor is otherwise attested in Syria, but is prominent in Egypt.¹⁷ It is there and for the period that they were composed (seventh to eighth centuries), not Antioch during the period under investigation here, that these legends have their vantage.

The existence of a church dedicated to the martyr Zacchaeus, built at Antioch in 434 CE, was added by Theodoret in the second century by Asseman in the introduction to his edition of the *Synecdoche*, to confirm the martyrdom of Alphaeus, Zacchaeus and Romanus. The origin of Asseman's assertion is unclear, but may be based on a western liturgical calendar. Neither the Syriac life of Zacchaeus and Alphaeus, nor the entry concerning them in Eusebius' *De martyribus Palaestinae*, however, connects either martyr to Antioch, although Romanus is explicitly linked to the city.¹¹⁰ Both martyrs are in fact firmly associated with Palestine. That a cult of Zacchaeus was based at Antioch in the fifth century is thus unlikely.

Dubious also is the attribution of a cult of Thecla to Seleucia Pieria. Downey and Campbell both speculated that the martyrdom in the town-city of Seleucia Pieria was dedicated to her,¹²⁰ an idea perpetuated by St Clair.¹²¹ The attribution is based on a false identification.¹²² The Seleucia where her cult originated is on the contrary a town in Bauria, some 100 km south-east of Leonium and 50 km south-west of Iarsus. It is there

Maraval's attribution of Claudius to Antioch, leading him inadequately to suggest that Claudius relics may have been among those celebrated by John Chrysostom in his homily *In martyres aegyptios*. Frédéric Alpi, *La route royale I*, p. 141, despite invoking the doubtful attribution to Severus, perpetuates this error.

117. Papakonstantinou, *Le culte des saints*, pp. 62-67.

118 Downey, *Antioch*, p. 652; Assemani 2, p. 173.

119 Euseb. *De mart. Palest.* 15-2.5 (ed. Schwartz and Momigliano, *supra* citat.);
Aysenian (ed.), *Acta sanctorum martyrum orientales christiani*! (= *Acta*, Vol. 1,
pp. 17-21).

120. Sgo. Part. chim. e biomed. In: *Scienze della Vita* (pp. 80-94). Hoepli, Milano, 1977.

124. In Kolodanov, L. A., and Vozlov, S. I. (1978) *Stomakhovaya i krovotvornaya funktsiya* [Stomach and hemostatic functions] in *Primeneniye i razvitiye krovotvornykh sredstv* [Application and development of hemostatic agents], ed. by L. A. Kolodanov, P. I. Kuznetsov, and V. A. Kuznetsov, pp. 11-15. Moscow: Meditsina.

that the emperor Zeno (474-91) built a church,¹²¹ and it is most probable that that church that Palladius, elected bishop of Antioch c. 490, had as presbyter.¹²² The identification of an image carved on a disk of Antiochene provenance (dated fifth-sixth centuries) as St Theodoros is based entirely on the belief that Seleucia Pieria was the site of her cult.¹²³ Without it, there is little that permits identification. Only half of the disk survives and the side on which the figure is carved has sustained further damage. The left arm of an orant figure is clearly depicted. The gender of the figure and the identity of the figure that can be seen in faint outline below the figure on the other hand are both open to question.

APPROACH

As already indicated above, our interest in the churches of Antioch is twofold. Firstly, our intention is to provide a compendium of all of the data relating to such sites (Part One). This is assembled in alphabetical order under the main title by which a worship site is known. In some cases more than one name was attached to the building over the period of our survey. In these instances cross-references are supplied to the main entry. An abbreviated bibliography of sources is supplied at the end of each entry. Since not all data are sufficiently concrete to be able to be attributed to a specific church, to the end of the compendium is attached an additional listing of non-specific data. A third list contains data about churches whose identity is in some way doubtful, but about which the data in future may, if corroborating evidence comes to light, prove to be

accurate. Some analysis of the data is entered into in Part One, but is restricted to discussion of how the various sources relate to one another or comment regarding methodological issues of relevance to a particular source.

Secondly, the nature of the data assembled in Part One prompts us to complement our survey with an analysis of the data from two angles. The first perspective (Part Two) is that of the political and social forces that played a role in the construction and transformation of buildings and sites. Here we are particularly interested in additions and alterations over time and the motivation for constructing certain churches in the first instance. In this section, the influence of economic, politico-religious and environmental factors will also be given consideration. The second angle from which we examine the churches (Part Three) is that of their use and function. We examine the issue from both broad and narrow perspectives: the role of churches in relation to one another and the urban and suburban environment, and how an individual church was utilized.¹²⁴ Part One is, in as far as possible, strictly factual. In Parts Two and Three we employ a degree of speculation to compensate for the bias of the sources and the substantial gaps in the data.

In selecting the illustrations that accompany the text we have attempted to be as thorough as possible. Only two of the four churches excavated to any degree in the 1930s were published in the five volumes of *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*. In consequence we publish here the majority of the photographs taken at the time, with the exception of the decorative program in the church in the lower city of Seleucia Pieria. The mosaic floor was badly damaged, while the fragments of champlevé and bas-relief work found at the site were numerous. What we publish here is a representative selection.

¹²¹ Evagrius, *HE* 3.8 (Bidez and Parmentier, pp. 107-108; trans. Whitby, p. 142).

¹²² Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 4983 AD 490/91 (De Boor, p. 135; trans. Mango and

pp. 208.

¹²³ *Antioch in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton Art Museum, Antioch 5464).

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PART ONE

CATALOGUE OF CHURCHES

The following catalogue of data concerning the churches of Syrian Antioch is divided into three parts. The first section contains a record of data concerning identifiable churches or worship sites organized alphabetically by name. In cases where a church or site was known by more than one label, the entry appears under the most common name. Alternative labels also appear in the catalogue and refer the reader to the name under which the entry for the church is found. The second section records data that cannot be attributed reliably to a specific church, but which are nonetheless useful. It is divided into two subsections: data about the interior of churches, and data about church buildings. The third section is titled: *Dubia*. The specific buildings and the data from Socrates that are listed there are kept separate from the list in the first section either because the data are unverifiable, because there is some doubt as to whether the site is actually a church or associated with a church, or because there is some doubt about the veracity of the source/s. In recording the information for the entries in all three sections we have tried to be as factual as possible, interpreting the sources only to the degree necessary to make sense of the data. Each entry is followed by a list of the primary sources and bibliography of the chief secondary literature in which the church is discussed. At the conclusion to Part One we provide two summaries: the first is a list of the identified churches organized topographically, in so far as can be determined; in the second significant events related to the churches are listed chronologically, grouped together under the name of the emperor under whose administration each occurred.

Babylas, St. Church of

[illegible]

oriented in the same way as the points of the compass. The arms and the central body is composed of three sections that form part of the arms these sections of the halls (see *Decorative Program*, the inscription in the north exedra of these arms was completed in 387 (4). Additions thought at different periods were also uncovered in 91. In the corner of the north and east arm of the church were located a baptistery (fig. 9-10) and a room identified as a *pistikon* (3) (figs. 10-11). The inscription set into the wall of the *pistikon* indicates that work on the paving

[illegible]

The openings onto the eastern chamber from the four steps measured between 7.6 and 7.9 m and the foundations suggest that the vaults were supported by arches in the form of tetrapylons (fig. 19). The eastern chamber, like at least the eastern arch was at one time closed off by a horizontal slab. Robust pillars formed the angles of the room, which carries the vaults supported a pyramidal roof of timber and the vaulted ceiling of a cupola. A U-shaped *bema* situated along the east-west axis of the chamber occupied a large portion of the room (fig. 20), its semicircular end to the west. Tombs were uncovered in each of the north-east and north-west corners of the room, oriented east-west. That of the north-west corner was set from a block of stone and set into the foundations in such a way that it would have been flush with the pavement. That particular tomb (2.25 m long x 1.13 m wide x 1.05 m deep at the exterior, 1.85 m x 0.9 m x 0.82 cm at the interior) is distant from the other tombs discovered in the church in that 43 cm from the bottom ledge 4 cm in width at the ends and 7 cm on the sides encircled it, providing the incense burner (fig. 21).

the purposes of storage by the clergy of sacred vessels and of the *synaxis* among other activities. In regard to foot-traffic, Lassus notes the point of interest that in the inscriptions of the west, south and north arms, those of the latter two were oriented so that they could be read by visitors entering the central chamber. The inscription of the west arm was oriented so that it could be read by those entering the central chamber as they moved from the central chamber to the door at the western end. In regard to internal traffic, no definitive evidence was found, but the *pistikon* room could have been entered via the east or west arm. The baptismal complex was found to be an archaeological evidence for the supposition that the inscription of the *pistikon* was oriented so that it could be read by those entering the *pistikon* into the baptistery, in support of the presence of a door there. He further proposed that the *pistikon* could have been entered via the north arm where he located the *pistikon* in his hypothesis.

In the building, the presence of numerous tile fragments and wooden framing covered in tile was used throughout the central chamber most likely formed a pyramid.

In the central chamber, fragments were found in each of the four arms of the building (figs. 35-38) the baptistery complex (rooms 2, 3, 9-10) and the *pistikon* (rooms 14 and 15). All are geometric in design, with the exception of the west end of the east arm, where a fragment of three crosses was found at the threshold to the *pistikon*. In the floor of the central chamber fragments of tile were found composed of tangent octagons. The remains of the paving were found in room 16 (fig. 16).

The floor of each room are described and Campbell who provides comprehensive photographs of the building. The floor of the central chamber is described as being made of tile, that of the *pistikon* is made of tile, and the floor of the baptistery is made of tile. To set the floor of the central chamber on the basis of the

the floor of the central chamber is made of tile, that of the *pistikon* is made of tile, and the floor of the baptistery is made of tile. To set the floor of the central chamber on the basis of the

Inscriptions were found in the centre of the paving in the north arm of the paving of the north and south arms where they abutted the central chamber, and along the north wall of the *pistikon* at the entrance to the baptistery. That of the west arm faced away from the central chamber, those of the north and south arms faced towards the central chamber, and that of the *pistikon* faced towards the baptistery. An additional inscription was found in the paving of the north arm along a western wall.

Inscription 1 (fig. 40: north arm, blank spaces at end of lines filled with leaves and crosses)

Ἐν τῷ ἁγίωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἡμεῖς ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ
ἐκτελεστοῦ οἰκονόμου καὶ πρεσβυτέρου, Δοκίμου ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, προσέ-
ταυτην τὴν ἐξέδραν, εὐχαρίστων, τὴν σφραγίδα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσῆς
Δυστροῦ τοῦ ἐλῶ' ἐτοῦ[ε].

Under our most holy bishop Maximian and under the most venerable synodical administrator and priest Isidorus, the pious and famous monk Doximus, completed the mosaic, paying for this mosaic and all the church in Maximian, year 435.

Inscription 2 (figs. 41-42: next to the west wall, north arm)

Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Μαρκιανὸς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Νέου
[Ἰσίδωρος]

(Thought to be a list of donors)

Inscription 3 (fig. 43: west arm, set in place of rectangular border)

Ἐν τῷ ἁγίωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἡμεῖς ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ
ἐκτελεστοῦ οἰκονόμου καὶ πρεσβυτέρου, Δοκίμου ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, προσέ-
ταυτην τὴν ἐξέδραν, εὐχαρίστων, τὴν σφραγίδα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσῆς
Δυστροῦ τοῦ ἐλῶ' ἐτοῦ[ε].

appears to have been a common name for the site. John Chrysostom on the feast of the Forty Martyrs mentions the presence of numerous martyrs' tombs in the vicinity of the city walls. The same martyrium was also the site of the Forty Martyrs whose festival was celebrated during the reign of Zeno. The site of the martyrium of Antioch for the deposed emperor was also the site of the Forty Martyrs' feast. The site is known as that of the Forty Martyrs in the Orontes may be the site of the martyrium. Theophanes, the ninth century, locates the site of the baptismal font of the Forty Martyrs at Barlaam. It is uncertain from what authority he derives this detail. Severus' patronage of Antioch (512-18) confirms both the location of the martyrium and its two-fold association (with the Forty Martyrs and the second decade of the sixth century). Severus (Barlaam/Barlaam) he imagines delivered two homilies on the Forty Martyrs. In a letter Severus discloses his desire to build a chapel/shrine of the Forty Martyrs, whether the location under discussion is in the vicinity of the city walls or is an identically named martyrium situated elsewhere within the *territorium* under Severus' jurisdiction.⁴⁷

Severus, *PG*, 50: 675-82 (trans. Mayer, *Cult of the Forty Martyrs*, 15.6 (ed. Thurn, p. 304; trans. Jeffreys et al., 1997, p. 310); *Hom.* 73 (*PG* 12/1, p. 90).

Severus, *PG*, 50: 675-82 (trans. Mayer, *Cult of the Forty Martyrs*, 15.6 (ed. Thurn, p. 304; trans. Jeffreys et al., 1997, p. 310); *Hom.* 73 (*PG* 12/1, p. 90).

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Severus, *PG*, 50: 675-82 (trans. Mayer, *Cult of the Forty Martyrs*, 15.6 (ed. Thurn, p. 304; trans. Jeffreys et al., 1997, p. 310); *Hom.* 73 (*PG* 12/1, p. 90).

Campus martius

In the fourth century during the reign of Valens (364-78 CE) the military parade-ground (*το πολεμικόν*) was used as a site of worship by one of the two Nicene Christian factions at Antioch.⁴⁸ At that time the ecclesiastical buildings inside the city walls were in possession of the homoian Christians, whose religious position the emperor favoured. Theodoret mentions in his *HE* that this site was their second choice, but in the *Historia Religiosa* claims that it was in fact their third. The Nicene faction led by Meletius had initially held their assemblies at the foot of the mountain and then on the bank of the Orontes (which mountain and which river bank are not specified), but were forced to move further away. This took place during the absence of Meletius, who spent much of Valens' reign in Armenia in exile.

The *campus martius* appears at this time to have become a centre of Nicene activity that extended beyond simply assembling there for worship. Theodoret indicates in his *HE* that of the two leaders at that time Flavian and Diodore, only Flavian preached, while Diodore looked after the flock through other forms of instruction. John Chrysostom confirms this in a homily in praise of Diodore, saying that in the past Diodore took 'the entire city' beyond the river and gave them sound instruction. Theodoret indicates that the hermit Aphraim also regularly crossed the city to the *campus martius* at this time in order to conduct pastoral care. The use of the *campus martius* in this fashion appears not to have been sustained. In the lives both of Iulian Sabas and Aphraim in the *Antiochene*

⁴⁷ Severus, *PG*, 50: 675-82 (trans. Mayer, *Cult of the Forty Martyrs*, 15.6 (ed. Thurn, p. 304; trans. Jeffreys et al., 1997, p. 310); *Hom.* 73 (*PG* 12/1, p. 90).

western end of the north aisle the fleurette design manifests itself in a rectangular grid in which each square contains in an alternating pattern a four-petal fleurette or small square. After the fourth fleurette pattern resumes a small square towards the eastern end of that aisle. An inscription ends with a large leaf, framed with a double line.



The next part of overall fleurette design contains near its southern end a circle with an inner circle of stepped triangles and eight lines like those of wheel.

Douglas Voutsas describes the church as having a liturgical organization similar to that of the Antiochian hinterland. Rudolf Haensch confirms her supposition that the church was built by a person or group not native to the region. A comparative study of the formulaic elements of the inscription reveals a kind common in Palestine, Arabia, Cilicia and Isauria in the sixth century, but in this instance unique in Syria I.

Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987-2007. Drawings Folder 7, Antioch Book 1, 16-17A.

Levi, *Mosaic Pavements*, 1, pp. 367-368. XLI Campbell, *Mosaic of Antioch*, p. 12, fig. 5 and Doucet-Voutsas, *Le pavement*, 1, pp. 174-175, 2, planche hors-texte.

Krautheimer, *Architectur*, p. 138. Rudolf Haensch, 'Archäologie und papyrologische Verbreitung und lokale Praktiken', *Kolner Jahrbuch für Antiquität*, pp. 89-95.

In Seleucia Pieria (lower city).

and construction.

excavations in the church, including the cut stairway.

descriptions in the donors' inscription in antiquity.

leading to the upper level. It is prominently situated at the western end of the church, only a short distance west of the main entrance, and just inside the eastern wall (figs. 5, 79). The church underwent two distinct phases of construction (figs. 80-81). The first phase, which is unable to be dated accurately due to the interruption of the excavation,⁷¹ produced a central plan building that is a double-shelled tetraconch in form, with an apse-ended rectangular wing projecting to the east, variously described as a church or presbytery.⁷² The width of the inner tetraconch is approximately 10 m and that of the outer tetraconch is approximately 15 m. The core of the building encloses a square space, having at its corners L-shaped piers from which project carved columnar volutes, while a spacious ambulatory rings the central core (figs. 82-84). Doors were located on each side of the outer L-shaped corners. The projecting wing had no exterior door and was entered via a wide, distyle portal in the eastern ambulatory. The floor of the central tetraconch was paved in marble, as also the eastern ambulatory in front of the ambulatory and the body of the wing. The floors of the remainder of the ambulatory and the apse in the wing were covered with mosaics, identified by Campbell as being late fifth-century in style.⁷³ The excavators found no discernible trace of wall mosaics. Outside the north-east and south-east corners and the western door were pavements of limestone blocks, which Campbell speculates may have been the floor of patches (fig. 85).⁷⁴ The roof is thought to have been of timber and ceramic tile, both since the only covering material found on the site was roof tile and because the columns of the inner tetraconch are too small to support anything except timber. The shape of the roof over the central space and ambulatories cannot be determined,⁷⁵ for the same reason that it cannot have supported a masonry roof, it is supposed that the structure was single storied. Fragments of marble lattice-work, comprised of intersecting rules, were found (fig. 86), which suggests that grills once crested the building's windows.

⁷¹ William A. Campbell, *The Mosaic of Antioch: A Study in the History of the Church*, p. 1.

⁷² Campbell, *The Mosaic of Antioch*, p. 1, *The Mosaic of Antioch*, p. 1.

⁷³ Campbell, *The Mosaic of Antioch*, p. 1.

⁷⁴ Campbell, *The Mosaic of Antioch*, p. 1.

⁷⁵ Campbell, *The Mosaic of Antioch*, p. 1.

⁷⁶ Campbell, *The Mosaic of Antioch*, p. 1.

⁷⁷ Campbell, *The Mosaic of Antioch*, p. 1.

⁷⁸ Campbell, *The Mosaic of Antioch*, p. 1.

In phase 2 two periods of building activity occurred, which were closely related in time and in the construction methods and materials used, but they have been considered continuous.⁷⁵ In the first of these two periods extensive repairs were undertaken and a different construction technique applied, which can be interpreted as an attempt to produce a structure more resilient.⁷⁶ The common assumption

that this phase of construction occurred following the quake of May 526 C.E. which in addition to causing major damage at Antioch destroyed much of Seleucia Pieria.⁷⁷ In the second period the rebuilding that took place shows similar evidence of responding to earth tremors. In the first period the foundations of the north and south side of the original structure were rebuilt and the curve of the south side was rebuilt in its entirety. The south door of the south-west corner was walled up. Additions were made in this period. Exterior to the south wall of the church, near the south door of the south-east corner a small chapel was partially excavated with a small horse-shoe-shaped western apse (fig. 88). When the wall on the wing to the original church were rebuilt, doors were inserted in what had been the exterior walls to the north and south. These led on to the north side to a newly constructed vestibule that connected to a complex of rooms including a baptistery (figs. 89-92). On the south side the door led directly into a chapel similar in design, but slightly smaller than the one constructed outside the south wall of the tetraconch (fig. 93). Much of the construction to the north and south of the wing appears to have utilized the original limestone paving as flooring. Within the tetraconch in this same period sections of the original marble floor in the ambulatory the central tetraconch were removed and replaced by panels of marble *opus sectile* (fig. 94). To this same period Campbell attributes the addition to the central tetraconch of a permanent stone structure that appears to be a horse-shoe shaped *bema* of a kind related to those found in certain Syrian churches of the period (fig. 95).⁷⁸ The remains suggest that

it was initiated by a circular *prothronon* (fig. 95), while the rectangular section was added on the basis of the *bema* to

the first period of phase 2 and a *prothronon* was also added to the north side. That it formed part of the same construction period is supported on the basis of his attribution of the *prothronon* to the second period of phase 2, however, thought that both sections of the *prothronon* and the *bema* on the south of the wing showed evidence of a common period of construction that in the case of the *bema* took place when the rectangular body of the *prothronon* extended only as far as the screen wall and the *prothronon* was not yet complete. He interpreted this as indicating that a second earth quake interrupted the reconstruction work undertaken in the first period of phase 2 and that this most likely occurred in 528.⁷⁹

Decorative program

The decorative program of the church constitutes mosaic flooring of several different styles, marble paving, bas-relief revetments, and a few champlévé-relief revetments that show traces of colouring, and a few natural features carved in the latter technique. Surviving columns capitals indicate a variety of treatments (figs. 96-98). Fragments of Greek inscriptions were also found (fig. 99). The carved revetments are thought to have enlivened expanses of plain marble revetment on the walls, and were employed in at least two friezes, one 26 cm, the other 31 cm in width. Dresken-Weiland calculates on the basis of the measurements of the interior of the exterior wall of the tetraconch that at least one of the friezes would have extended for 136 m.⁸⁰ The Antioch exhibition catalogue of 2000 includes computer-generated models of the tetraconch's interior with sections of the decorative elements in place.⁸¹

The dating of the decorative elements varies. The mosaic flooring within the north, south and west ambulatory belongs to phase 2, as does the marble flooring of the east ambulatory, the central tetraconch and the rectangular body of the east wing (fig. 100). The floor of the apse at the end of that wing shows traces of a white mosaic and of a simple pattern similar to the background in the mosaic pavement of the ambulatory.

⁷⁵ Campbell, *Antioch*, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683, 2684, 2685, 2686, 2687, 2688, 2689, 2690, 2691, 2692, 2693, 2694, 2695, 2696, 2697, 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702, 2703, 2704, 2705, 2706, 2707, 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2714, 2715, 2716, 2717, 2718, 2719, 2720, 2721, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2725, 2726, 2727, 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, 2732, 2733, 2734, 2735, 2736, 2737, 2738, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2745, 2746, 2747, 2748, 2749, 2750, 2751, 2752, 2753, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2759, 2760, 2761, 2762, 2763, 2764, 2765, 2766, 2767, 2768, 2769, 2770, 2771, 2772, 2773, 2774, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2806, 2807, 2808, 2809, 2810, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817, 2818, 2819, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825, 2826, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2835, 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2840, 2841, 2842, 2843, 2844, 2845, 2846, 2847, 2848, 2849, 2850, 2851, 2852, 2853, 2854, 2855, 2856, 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860, 2861, 2862, 2863, 2864, 2865, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2884, 2885, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893, 2894, 2895, 2896, 2897, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2902, 2903, 2904, 2905, 2906, 2907, 2908, 2909, 2910, 2911, 2912, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2921, 2922, 2923, 2924, 2925, 2926, 2927, 2928, 2929, 2930, 2931, 2932, 2933, 2934, 2935, 2936, 2937, 2938, 2939, 2940, 2941, 2942, 2943, 2944, 2945, 2946, 2947, 2948, 2949, 2950, 2951, 2952, 2953, 2954, 2955, 2956, 2957, 2958, 2959, 2960, 2961, 2962, 2963, 2964, 2965, 2966, 2967, 2968, 2969, 2970, 2971, 2972, 2973, 2974, 2975, 2976, 2977, 2978, 2979, 2980, 2981, 2982, 2983, 2984, 2985, 2986, 2987, 2988, 2989, 2990, 2991, 2992, 2993, 2994, 2995, 2996, 2997, 2998, 2999, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 3022, 3023, 3024, 3025, 3026, 3027, 3028, 3029, 3030, 3031, 3032, 3033, 3034, 3035, 3036, 3037, 3038, 3039, 3040, 3041, 3042, 3043, 3044, 3045, 3046, 3047, 3048, 3049, 3050, 3051, 3052, 3053, 3054, 3055, 3056, 3057, 3058, 3059, 3060, 3061, 3062, 3063, 3064, 3065, 3066, 3067, 3068, 3069, 3070, 3071, 3072, 3073, 3074, 3075, 3076, 3077, 3078, 3079, 3080, 3081, 3082, 3083, 3084, 3085, 3086, 3087, 3088, 3089, 3090, 3091, 3092, 3093, 3094, 3095, 3096, 3097, 3098, 3099, 3100, 3101, 3102, 3103, 3104, 3105, 3106, 3107, 3108, 3109, 3110, 3111, 3112, 3113, 3114, 3115, 3116, 3117, 3118, 3119, 3120, 3121, 3122, 3123, 3124, 3125, 3126, 3127, 3128, 3129, 3130, 3131, 3132, 3133, 3134, 3135, 3136, 3137, 3138, 3139, 3140, 3141, 3142, 3143, 3144, 3145, 3146, 3147, 3148, 3149, 3150, 3151, 3152, 3153, 3154, 3155, 3156, 3157, 3158, 3159, 3160, 3161, 3162, 3163, 3164, 3165, 3166, 3167, 3168, 3169, 3170, 3171, 3172, 3173, 3174, 3175, 3176, 3177, 3178, 3179, 3180, 3181, 3182, 3183, 3184, 3185, 3186, 3187, 3188, 3189, 3190, 3191, 3192, 3193, 3194, 3195, 3196, 3197, 3198, 3199, 3200, 3201, 3202, 3203, 3204, 3205, 3206, 3207, 3208, 3209, 3210, 3211, 3212, 3213, 3214, 3215, 3216, 3217, 3218, 3219, 3220, 3221, 3222, 3223, 3224, 3225, 3226, 3227, 3228, 3229, 3230, 3231, 3232, 3233, 3234, 3235, 3236, 3237, 3238, 3239, 3240, 3241, 3242, 3243, 3244, 3245, 3246, 3247, 3248, 3249, 3250, 3251, 3252, 3253, 3254, 3255, 3256, 3257, 3258, 3259, 3260, 3261, 3262, 3263, 3264, 3265, 3266, 3267, 3268, 3269, 3270, 3271, 3272, 3273, 3274, 3275, 3276, 3277, 3278, 3279, 3280, 3281, 3282, 3283, 3284, 3285, 3286, 3287, 3288, 3289, 3290, 3291, 3292, 3293, 3294, 3295, 3296, 3297, 3298, 3299, 3300, 3301, 3302, 3303, 3304, 3305, 3306, 3307, 3308, 3309, 3310, 3311, 3312, 3313, 3314, 3315, 3316, 3317, 3318, 3319, 3320, 3321, 3322, 3323, 3324, 3325, 3326, 3327, 3328, 3329, 3330, 3331, 3332, 3333, 3334, 3335, 3336, 3337, 3338, 3339, 3340, 3341, 3342, 3343, 3344, 3345, 3346, 3347, 3348, 3349, 3350, 3351, 3352, 3353, 3354, 3355, 3356, 3357, 3358, 3359, 3360, 3361, 3362, 3363, 3364, 3365, 3366, 3367, 3368, 3369, 3370, 3371, 3372, 3373, 3374, 3375, 3376, 3377, 3378, 3379, 3380, 3381, 3382, 3383, 3384, 3385, 3386, 3387, 3388, 3389, 3390, 3391, 3392, 3393, 3394, 3395, 3396, 3397, 3398, 3399, 3400, 3401, 3402, 3403, 3404, 3405, 3406, 3407, 3408, 3409, 3410, 3411, 3412, 3413, 3414, 3415, 3416, 3417, 3418, 3419, 3420, 3421, 3422, 3423, 3424, 3425, 3426, 3427, 3428, 3429, 3430, 3431, 3432, 3433, 3434, 3435, 3436, 3437, 3438, 3439, 3440, 3441, 3442, 3443, 3444, 3445, 3446, 3447, 3448, 3449, 3450, 3451, 3452, 3453, 3454, 3455, 3456, 3457, 3458, 3459, 3460, 3461, 3462, 3463, 3464, 3465, 3466, 3467, 3468, 3469, 3470, 3471, 3472, 3473, 3474, 3475, 3476, 3477, 3478, 3479, 3480, 3481, 3482, 3483, 3484, 3485, 3486, 3487, 3488, 3489, 3490, 3491, 3492, 3493, 3494, 3495, 3496, 3497, 3498, 3499, 3500, 3501, 3502, 3503, 3504, 3505, 3506, 3507, 3508, 3509, 3510, 3511, 3512, 3513, 3514, 3515, 3516, 3517, 3518, 3519, 3520, 3521, 3522, 3523, 3524, 3525, 3526, 3527, 3528, 3529, 3530, 3531, 3532, 3533, 3534, 3535, 3536, 3537, 3538, 3539, 3540, 3541, 3542, 3543, 3544, 3545, 3546, 3547, 3548, 3549, 3550, 3551, 3552, 3553, 3554, 3555, 3556, 3557, 3558, 3559, 3560, 3561, 3562, 3563, 3564, 3565, 3566, 3567, 3568, 3569, 3570, 3571, 3572, 3573, 3574, 3575, 3576, 3577, 3578, 3579, 3580, 3581, 3582, 3583, 3584, 3585, 3586, 3587, 3588, 3589, 3590, 3591, 3592, 3593, 3594, 3595, 3596, 3597, 3598, 3599, 3600, 3601, 3602, 3603, 3604, 3605, 3606, 3607, 3608, 3609, 3610, 3611, 3612, 3613, 3614, 3615, 3616, 3617, 3618, 3619, 3620, 3621, 3622, 3623, 3624, 3625, 3626, 3627, 3628, 3629, 3630, 3631, 3632, 3633, 3634, 3635, 3636, 3637, 3638, 3639, 3640, 3641, 3642, 3643, 3644, 3645, 3646, 3647, 3648, 3649, 3650, 3651, 3652, 3653, 3654, 3655, 3656, 3657, 3658, 3659, 3660, 3661, 3662, 3663, 3664, 3665, 3666, 3667, 3668, 3669, 3670, 3671, 3672, 3673, 3674, 3675, 3676, 3677, 3678, 3679, 3680, 3681, 3682, 3683, 3684, 3685, 3686, 3687, 3688, 3689, 3690, 3691, 3692, 3693, 3694, 3695, 3696, 3697, 3698, 3699, 3700, 3701, 3702, 3703, 3704, 3705, 3706, 3707, 3708, 3709, 3710, 3711, 3712, 3713, 3714, 3715, 3716, 3717, 3718, 3719, 3720, 3721, 3722, 3723, 3724, 3725, 3726, 3727, 3728, 3729, 3730, 3731, 3732, 3733, 3734, 3735, 3736, 3737, 3738, 3739, 3740, 3741, 3742, 3743, 3744, 3745, 3746, 3747, 3748, 3749, 3750, 3751, 3752, 3753, 3754, 3755, 3756, 3757, 3758, 3759, 3760, 3761, 3762, 3763, 3764, 3765, 3766, 3767, 3768, 3769, 3770, 3771, 3772, 3773, 3774, 3775, 3776, 3777, 3778, 3779, 3780, 3781, 3782, 3783, 3784, 3785, 3786, 3787, 3788, 3789, 3790, 3791, 3792, 3

angles of the central
removed and ~~replaced~~ with ~~new~~ tile panels in
marble ~~on~~ floor was laid in the newly con-
nected period of phase 2 (fig. 92). The cham-
bered by Bowl to phase 2 on the grounds that the
had been destroyed in the earthquake that occa-
sioned the destruction. Katherine Kiefer who produced the
the relief fragments owned by the Art Museum of
speculates that the bas-reliefs may date from
evidence that many can be identified as pilaster
low position they are more likely to have survived an

depicted in the champlévé-reliefs is varied. Birds,
in majority sometimes arranged within vegetal
presented as a single animal separated from the next
figs 101-108). Figural subjects constitute roughly a
mplevé-relief fragments that were found and range from
to ~~include~~ from the Old and New Testaments (figs 106-
perspective it should be noted that these fragments
percentage of the original decorative program.
relief include a wide range of biblical figures and
sively from the Old Testament and other human
but also include floral and animal subject matter
of standing frontal saints (in fragmentary condi-
fig. 112). These vary in scale but are on a larger
biblical figures. A larger than life-size image of Christ was
the decorative program (fig. 116). At least one other image of
centimeter (fig. 117) although this is too fragmentary for the
ertain. Figures of angels were identified on a number
118. In both bas-relief and champlévé-reliefs crosses
a design element (fig. 119). In border treatments
13-26. The frequ- animals among the
match. On the

three sides of
the church
closed back
climatic
of waves
of stylized

are marching towards the entrance to the wing, oriented to the east.
Larger quadrupeds tend to be in the middle zone and animals more and
animals in the inner. The ~~composition~~ breaking up the monotony. The
size, giving the impression that the decorative elements are of a single
The ground between the figurative elements is filled with a large-scale
pattern. Compositionally this section of the decorative program belongs
to the hunting scenes found in a number of private houses at Dura
but is also evocative of the game parks kept by Roman aristocrats and
their depiction on the garden walls of townhouses. (Kleinbauer sees the
transferral from the private house into the house of God as indicative of
the permeability of the boundaries between religious and secular art
in Late Antiquity.¹⁰ Whether the hunt scene became imbued with any
specifically Christian meaning in this context is debatable.

Status

Because of its centralized plan the excavators interpreted the building
as a martyrium, despite a lack of evidence that might indicate specialized
use.¹¹ The addition in the second building phase of a permanent baptis-
tery, which is indicative of a church used on the contrary for ordinary
synaxis, was not taken into consideration at that stage. Shortly after-
wards André Grabar, in an addendum to his study of martyria, argued
on the basis of this second phase that an original martyrium was identi-
fied by its shape) was subsequently transformed into a church.¹² The
identification of the original building as a martyrium persisted until
1973 when Kleinbauer produced an analysis of arched tetraconch churches
in Syria which suggested that all such structures are to be identified
rather as high ranking churches within the diocese of Antioch, deriving
from a common Antiochene model.¹³ On the basis of its location and

¹⁰ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
¹¹ Grabar, *Martyria*, p. 104. Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
¹² Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
¹³ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
¹⁴ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
¹⁵ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
¹⁶ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
¹⁷ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
¹⁸ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
¹⁹ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
²⁰ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
²¹ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
²² Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
²³ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
²⁴ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
²⁵ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
²⁶ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
²⁷ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
²⁸ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
²⁹ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
³⁰ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
³¹ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
³² Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
³³ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
³⁴ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
³⁵ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
³⁶ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
³⁷ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
³⁸ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
³⁹ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁴⁰ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁴¹ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁴² Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁴³ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁴⁴ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁴⁵ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁴⁶ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁴⁷ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁴⁸ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁴⁹ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁵⁰ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁵¹ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁵² Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁵³ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁵⁴ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁵⁵ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁵⁶ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁵⁷ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁵⁸ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁵⁹ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁶⁰ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁶¹ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁶² Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.
⁶³ Kleinbauer, 'The Martyria of Antioch', p. 104.

form he posted that it was constructed and served as the local church. The Seleucia mosaic is the only native program of the church is... which interpretal

Drawings Folder 39, Antioch
Field Book-Seleucia Martyr.

Richard Stillwell, 'The
Seleucia in Antioch-on-
the-Orontes', pp. 359-63 and vol. 2,
ed. St. Clair, *Byzantine*

from the Martyr
Martyrium 1 p.189

Hunting Mosaics;

D. Ken Weiland, 'Zur Ikonographie;
Lyon-Vente, Les pavements',
Strube, Du Toten
Burial, Kondoleon, The Mosaic
Culture and Liturgy,

Seleucia, Pieria (upper city)

the day of the last season of field
et that no mention of it appears in the reports,
Seleucia Pieria has remained largely unknown. Levi notes
only to visit the site and make some hurried
covered over again. As a further complica-
tion, in 196 the relevant page in Campbell's field
tempted to consult them. Many of Camp-
bell's Antioch Archive at
Downey of the
of which he
book volume 3,
ages from the
are thus

Kondoleon
trying it as a
Strube.

On the basis of Campbell's notes, Levi records that the church appears to have been a small three-aisled basilica, situated on top of a cliff above the city. The church was built on the remains of a pre-Christian temple and probably on the rock (the north part of the north aisle). The mosaics that Campbell noted belonged to the north aisle and comprised the remains of three panels: a panel to the east containing an inscription (situated in the middle of the aisle facing west); a central square panel containing a wheel with multicoloured rays; and a rectangular panel with a pattern of beribboned birds in squares. The inscription was transcribed as follows:

[Ἐν τῷ ἁγίωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Διῷ Δι
[...] αἰνέσθῃ ἡ ψήφωσις τῆς ἐκκλησίας
σπουδῇ Βάχχου τοῦ θεοφιλέστατου ὁδοῦ τοῦ
μοναρίου καὶ ἐκ(κ)λησί(α)ς ἐκδίκου ἐλὲς ἡμεῶν
καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ἡμεῖς Ἀρτεμίσιοι ἐκδόκα
ἰβ' τοῦ βοχ' ἔτους ἀποστόλῃ
διοῦ το καλὸν ἔργον τοῦτο ἐγένετο.

Under our most holy bishop Di[...]⁹¹ the mosaic paving of the eastern... through the zeal of Bacchus the most god-loving deacon, archdeacon and church lawyer, to the glory of God and honour of the apostle, this [impor-] tant work took place in the month of Artemisios in the 13th indiction in the year 672 [...].

It appears that no traces of mosaic were seen in the south aisle.

Given the region and the apostle Paul's association with Antioch, Kleinbauer argues that the apostle of line 7 is to be identified as Paul and believes that the church was dedicated to him. This identification is unverifiable, since no mention of the church occurs in known epigraphic or textual sources, and becomes less plausible if, as it appears, the church is late in date, since from the mid fifth century onwards the names of saints proliferated and a local connection to the apostle Paul is essential. There is in fact greater reason to suppose that the apostle in question may have to be Thomas (see Thomas the Apostle, chapter 10), an association with Pieria having the basis of evidence concerning the apostle's death at the city.

Levi who arrived at Antioch by Severus of Antioch in 365. Levi confirmed at their lack of correlation with the Seleucid calendar.⁹⁷ In the Church of St-Babylas, the correlation is verified as the basis of the years were calculated not in the Antiochene civic era. Using this evidence, we can date the mosaic to c. 672 in the Antiochene era and supplies us with information on the period began on the eastern part of this

VI

is of considerable interest on two counts. During the period of Sassanian control of Syria (611-28) it is known that as Butcher speculates the Persians negotiated wherever possible while actively supporting the Jews and anti-Chalcedonians,⁹⁸ then this evidence. Secondly, the bishop of the Antiochene survive in full appears to be the local bishop of Antioch at this time match. This suggests that the church was commissioned locally and was built in Antioch that the economy was stable enough at the first decades of the seventh century for a local administrator to finance either the renewal of existing mosaic or new section of paving hills in a gap in the historical and

pencilled copy of the inscription. Downey calculates the

was used in other parts of Antioch for dates of Syrian churches. It can therefore be concluded that the mosaic was laid in the year 493, however, the limestone mosaic

Byz 15 (1948)

28

archaeological record.⁹⁹ notes, the general impression is that following the earthquakes of the sixth century the city declined with the focus of settlement in the Orontes delta returning to the port of al-Mina.¹⁰⁰

Antioch Archive, Princeton: Antioch files, drawer 2 (Antioch Kaoussie [Qaustiyeh] - Machouka), loose sheet containing pencilled copy of inscription from Campbell's *Seleucia Notebook*, II, p. 25 of 8 Sept. 1939, by Downey, plus Downey's personal notes.

(Other sources: Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* I, p. 482 n. 346. Literature: Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', p. 93

Cosmas and Damian, Saints, Church of

As part of a reconstruction program at Antioch initiated by the emperor following the earthquake of 526, the emperor ordered the construction of several new churches in the city. According to Malalas, two of these were the Church of the Theotokos and a church dedicated to the two saints Cosmas and Damian, were located near the basilica of Eutychius, the first directly opposite, the second near to the first. Downey locates the basilica of Rufinus with the Hellenistic agora nearby at Epiphaneia, a satellite of Antioch established by the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-64 BCE). This would locate the church of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Epiphaneia. Whereas Downey believed that this church lay along the lower slopes of Mt Silius (and therefore within the city walls), renewed archaeological work at Antioch now tentatively locates the satellite on a plateau at the top of neighbouring Mt Silius enclosed by its own set of walls (fig. 2). The implications of this radical reconfiguration of the components of the known city in regard to the multitude of buildings thought to have been located in Epiphaneia and their role in Antiochene daily life are as yet unknown.

Sources: Malalas, *Chron.* 17.19; *Byzantine Archaeology*, p. 145. Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 82-83; Malalas, *Chron.* 17.19; *Byzantine Archaeology*, p. 145.

in Constantine's lifetime (d. 337).¹¹² Constantius II (337-61) died without knowledge of the church, and the suspicion that he was the author of the imperial panegyric in particular detail, which is so vague in its description of the construction progressed, is probably unwisely. Each is tentatively accepted as more reliable than the particular detail, which perhaps inter that a complex of rooms or was invested in some kind of plan differs so radically from the plan sponsored by Constantine as to be variations on a basilica. The

construction only at this point he is most likely to have been that the church was dedicated to the matter by the laying of the stone. On the use by the Syrian of a common name for the church in the *Chronography* (p. 117-19 and p. 158) concerning the construction of 327.

most years of the Arian controversy, the beginning of the dedication is the summer of 340. In that case it is the description of the construction of the church in Antioch or its continuation in the *Chronography* (p. 117-19 and p. 158) concerning the construction of 327.

Constantine, in the fall of 327, p. 117-19 and p. 158, concerning the construction of 327.

degree to which Constantine contributed to the church's construction rather than simply putting the finishing touches to it. Another question that has yet to be resolved and to which the answer may further undermine the degree of reliance that can be placed on Eusebius' description.¹¹³ Theodoret (HE 3.12.4) refers to costly sacred vessels that had been supplied by Constantine and Constantius, but it is more likely that Constantine's name is attached for the same reasons that the construction of the church is attributed to him, and that the donation was made by Constantius.

Much of the detail that has traditionally been attributed to the church from other sources is also less certain than has been supposed. Malalas (Chron. 13.17) preserves an inscription, which he thought commemorated the completion of the Great Church under Constantine II, but this has now been identified as referring to a church completed some ten years later by Gallus Caesar.¹¹⁴ Homilies of John Chrysostom which allude to a high ceiling or amazing roof (*De mutatione novum hominum*, In illud: *Ne esuriunt mimici*, In Gen. hom. 6), traditionally adduced in corroboration of Eusebius' assertion that the ceiling rose to an amazing height or to show that the floor was paved with stone slabs,¹¹⁵ are at far less certain provenance than has been supposed. In Eph. hom. 10, likewise preached by him and thought to indicate not only that the roof was wooden but also that the building's decorative program included statues, marbles and columns,¹¹⁶ is not only of uncertain provenance but the passage usually cited uses the example of how people react to a burning house (where concrete detail is supplied) as an extended comparison for the current state of the church (as a body of believers). No physical church building is referred to nor is one supplied. Equally uncertain is the traditional situation of the church in the new city, the quarter built on the island in the crescent, where it is thought to have been located next to the imperial palace. This relies on dated arguments about the close

112 Nick Henck, *Constantine and the Church*, p. 117-19 and p. 158, concerning the construction of 327.

113 It is probable, given the evidence, that the church was dedicated to the matter by the laying of the stone. On the use by the Syrian of a common name for the church in the *Chronography* (p. 117-19 and p. 158) concerning the construction of 327.

114 See Henck, *Constantine and the Church*, p. 117-19 and p. 158, concerning the construction of 327.

association between such churches and imperial palaces at comparable sites (Constantinople, Salona, Thessalonica and on the identification of the polygonal building depicted in the topographical border of the Yabdo mosaic as the Great Church.¹²³ The questionable nature of both of these hypotheses long since treated as fact, has been demonstrated persuasively by Deichmann although surprisingly little attention has been paid to his argument.

Also dubious is the interpretation of the record in Theophanes (AM 3878–A1–385/86) of the construction in 386 of a small basilica as an addition to the Great Church built as a thank offering for the imperial pardon of Antioch following the riot of 384. Firstly Theophanes attributes the event to the year prior to the riots (385/86). Secondly, the phrase *ἐν παλαιῇ* is best interpreted as 'in the old city', so that the small basilica was also built in the old city near the big basilica. Thirdly the Great Church was not basilical in form but rather in appearance modelled on a central plan. Theophanes in fact as often refers to the Great Church as the octagonal church, of the domed church. It only on one confirmed instance does he employ the label 'the Great Church' itself (see labels below). A perceived reference to and partial description of the Great Church in an oration of Libanius (Or. 1.39–41) has recently been dismissed by Raymond¹²⁴ who argues that the building in question is rather the mausoleum of Constantine at Constantinople. Finally Downey's attribution of the church of a 'little colonnade' of the summer secretariat (*τὸ οὐκ οἰκιστὸν τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου*), based on the record of a synod presided over by the bishop Domnus at Antioch in 444 CE, cannot be applied to the Great Church with absolute certainty. The preamble to the acts of the synod states simply that it was held in the most holy church of Antioch (*ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείῳ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ*).

¹²³ Cf. E. Dri. *Die Kirchen Antiochia* (Grabat, Mervielles) and Wayne Dynes, *Christian Palaces* (Church Typs, Marso) II (1962) 641, pp. 1–9. On the question of the border to the Introduction, pp. 17–20.

¹²⁴ Raymond, *Antioch*, pp. 134–135.

¹²⁵ Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 134–135.

In reality little evidence exists which might with any precision locate the Great Church within the city of Antioch.¹²⁵ Malalas (Chron. 1.10) states that the church of the emperor Philip,¹²⁶ which was demolished in 384, stood on the site of the bath. The bath is mentioned by no other source and some scholars have argued that this might exclude the 'new city' on the island in their minds on the grounds that that quarter was developed only in the time of Diocletian (284–305) and must be dismissed. The baths excavated in that area of the city display levels of use that extend as far back as the first century CE.¹²⁷ Theodoret (HP 5.35.4) refers to a procession to a building that is named likely the Great Church (it is described as *τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν* that took place during the episcopate of Alexander (414–24). At the time the crowd moved from the western gate to the church it filled the entire *regima* with an open square,¹²⁸ but if the movement is along the main colonnaded street of the city from the gate at the bridge which led into the city from the roads to Seleucia and Alexandretta, then the procession would naturally have passed through the main *agora* or *forum* if its destination was anywhere north of the intersection with the stream called Parmenus. Antioch in any case had more than one forum and consequently the reference is less helpful than it might otherwise have been.¹²⁹

In the second half of the fifth century the church still enjoyed considerable status at Antioch. The earliest recension of the *Syriac Life* (VL) of Symeon Stylites the Elder, which dates to April 473 CE, asserts that on arrival at Antioch the body of Symeon (d. 459) was buried in the Great

¹²³ Prosopon, *Antioche de Syrie*, pp. 1009–1012, refers to an elaborate interpretation of the section of the Yabdo mosaic which contains the alleged site of the Great Church, believing that that section of the mosaic is a pictorial record of the church building on the island in the Chrones. The mosaic is a pictorial record of the church building on the island in the Chrones, therefore a discussion of the mosaic is a discussion of the church building on the island in the Chrones. The mosaic is a pictorial record of the church building on the island in the Chrones, therefore a discussion of the mosaic is a discussion of the church building on the island in the Chrones.

¹²⁴ Prosopon, *Antioche de Syrie*, pp. 1009–1012.

¹²⁵ Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 134–135.

¹²⁶ Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 134–135.

... implies ... the time that the life was written his ...

... and by ... strewed precious spices before ...
... and ... him. They chanted psalms and ...
... and was placed in the holy and ...
... had not happened to any ...
... he had previously ...
... prophets nor one of the ...
... was the first to ...
... head of the bishops ...
... and chant spiritual ...
... placed before him ...
... and chosen spices rise ...

... in which ... body had been deposited in ...
... of considerable interest when ...
... history of the church of St Babylas.¹¹ ...
... between 1 ... and the 530s, on ...
... to the saint at Antioch ...

... by the early sixth century. In a homily ...
... of the church's dedication Severus asks the ...
... the antiquity of the wood and stone (*Hom.* 112) ...
... damage in the earthquake of 526. Mala-

... it claims that the church withstood the initial shock for ...
... but then succumbed to fire, as a result of which it was reduced ...
... foundation. This is the last date for which we have reliable evi-
... concerning the church. It is widely assumed that the church was ...
... during the reign of Justinian under Bishop Ephrem (527-44) on ...
... of the testimonies of Zachariah of Mytilene and Evagrius. Eva-
... of the effects of the earthquake of 588, discusses the fate ...
... of the most holy church (την αγιωτατην εκκλησιαν). This ...
... collapsed to the ground with the exception of its dome. The latter, ...
... had been fashioned by Ephrem from timber from Daphne ...
... after during the earthquake of 526. Subsequent tremors had

... (V, B, and ...
... B and M show ...
... which dates that

tilted the dome towards the north ... was supposed to exert ...
counter-pressure. During the quake of 588 the timbers fell down and the ...
tremors shifted the dome back to its original position. Zachariah talks of ...
the rebuilding of a church at Antioch under Ephrem that was round in ...
form and that had four triclina attached. The church was completed in ...
548 and a substantial number of bishops were ...
tion.¹² Sponsored by Justinian, Ephrem presented over ...
a number of churches at Antioch following the ...
the Church of Michael the Archangel and the Church of the ...
In this light, it cannot be taken for granted that either of the churches ...
referred to by Evagrius or Zachariah is the Great Church.

A further perceived reference to the Great Church occurs at the time ...
of the Persian attack on Antioch in 540. Procopius describes Severus ...
descending from an elevated area (ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψίας) to the shrine then called ...
a church (ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καλουμένων). There he found great ...
stores of gold and silver and also removed from inside a large quantity ...
of ornamental marble, which he had placed outside the wall (ἐκ τῆς ...
περιβόλου) for later collection. When Khosro gave the command (τοῦτο) ...
the city, the ambassadors asked him to spare the church, which he then ...
did. After the Persian troops had set fire to the city only this church and ...
a large number of houses around the quarter called Keraton (which lay ...
at the far end of the city and were not joined to other buildings) survived ...
the fire that was set inside the walls. Evagrius (*HE* 4.25) inserts Antioch ...
bishop, Ephrem, into the story, on the basis of claims that he saved the ...
church (τὴν ἐκκλησίαν) and everything around it by decorating it with ...
holy dedications (ἀγαθὰ παρὰ) as a ransom. Because in both accounts the ...
church goes unnamed, identification is reliant on the value of the church ...
to the city, its location inside the walls, and the degree of wealth associ- ...
ated with it. Even in combination, however, these features are insuffi- ...
ciently concrete for an identification of the building as the Great Church ...
to be certain. If Evagrius is correct, more than just the church survived ...
which questions whether the conflagration attributed to the Persians by ...
Procopius was as catastrophic as he asserts, and the wealth the church ...
contained was not permanent but temporarily shifted there, at the im- ...
poses of saving it. In any case the Church of the Theotokos ...
under Ephrem and Justinian is said to have been substantially enlarged ...
and lavishly decorated, while the church of Constantine ...
at least a robe of Justinian, if not other treasures.¹³ At the time the

¹¹ ...
¹² ...

¹³ ...

Literature		Adalbert Birnbaum Konstruktionswerk 208 at pp. 181
91. Elies		8-59, 388
92. Elies		8-59, 388
93. Elies		8-59, 388
94. Elies		8-59, 388
95. Elies		8-59, 388
96. Elies		8-59, 388
97. Elies		8-59, 388
98. Elies		8-59, 388
99. Elies		8-59, 388
100. Elies		8-59, 388

Holy Prophets Church of the

In the sixteenth-century of Book 17 Thurn editor of the most recent edition of the *Chronographia* of John Malalas restores from the Slavonic detail that is missing in the Greek manuscripts in regard to the effect of the earthquake of 526 CE on the city of Antioch. The Greek, which describes the devastation of martyrta and monasteries as absolute mentions only the Great Church by name claiming that it withstood the initial shock only to be burnt to the ground a number of days later. The Slavonic text adds that the great church of Michael the Archangel and the church of the Virgin Mary both suffered the same fate, along with the Church of the Holy Prophets and the Church of St Zacharias. While the Church of St Zacharias is mentioned in no other source, the church of Michael the Archangel is attested elsewhere. The church of the Virgin Mary is attested in Antioch at Photius lists Antioch in (527-65)

The church of the Virgin Mary is attested in Antioch at Photius lists Antioch in (527-65)

Sources: Malalas, *Chron* 17.16 (Thurn, 1981, p. 125)
Photius, *Bibl* 228 (Henry, 1904, p. 125)
Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, p. 522

Ignatius, St. Church of

Prior to the reign of Theodosius II (408-50) the relics of Ignatius, one of the earliest bishops of Antioch, lay in the cemetery near the church of Daphne, where his festival was celebrated until the early decades of the fifth century (see Koimeterion). During his reign, Theodosius II had the relics translated into the city itself, where they were placed in the former Isebaeum (temple to Antioch's Fortune), which he had had converted into a shrine dedicated to Ignatius. Severus preached a number of homilies in the church, two of which are dated to 513 and 516. In these homilies he concentrates not on Ignatius, but on Sts Basil and Gregory (Nazianzen). At the conclusion of *Homily 37* Severus explains that Basil and Gregory's emulation of Ignatius is the reason why he has had the people assemble in this particular house of prayer. That Severus turned this association into a tradition in his homilies as a bishop, indicated by the title to *Homily 84*, another encyclical on Basil and Gregory, delivered in 516 according to custom in the martyrdom of St Ignatius. Severus' own festival was also celebrated there; his feast, which was commemorated up until at least the time of Longinus, was held in the sixth century. Severus adds that in the fifth century, Ignatius' festival was celebrated in the church of the Holy Prophets and the Church of St Zacharias.

The church of the Virgin Mary is attested in Antioch at Photius lists Antioch in (527-65)

Hom. 9 (PO 31) p. 337; Hom. 37 (PO 36),
no. (PO 231) p. 32; Eusebius
White p. 42.

Antioch, p. 45;

other of the

frans

antioch

La

John

Church of the Baptist

gates of Antioch
the younger. It is
a church to pray to
her parents to
achieve pregnancy,
practices xerophagy (that is,
and salt) no sleeps on the floor for several
awakes with a ball of gum
has been told to perfume the
tears and in response
a ball of gum throughout the
night finds the ball of gum in
again and so on. Eventually she
said to be situated inside the
Antioch and conceives. Forty days after Symeon is
returned to the Church of John the Baptist with the infant and
offering there on his behalf. At the age of two he is baptized in
church. At the age of five, during the earthquake of 526, when
cannot be found by Martha, John the Baptist reveals to her his
and after being reunited with him they go to the Church of
the Baptist where the mother gives thanks in prayer. No further
and occurs in the *Life*, largely because the focus of the
subsequent Antioch towards Seleucia Pieria and the

Although Downey distinguishes the two – it is possible, as Todd assumes, that this church and the Church of St John below are identical. Because of the different character of the two sources in which reference to each appears, however, this is difficult to determine.

Sources: *Vita Symeon*, pp. 13, 5, 7 (Van den Hoven);
Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, p. 657; *Antioch*, pp. 603–604 and 797–98; Alpi, *La*

2. Church of St John

A church or martyrion of St John is mentioned by Malala in his account of certain events of public unrest that took place at Antioch in 510, during the reign of the emperor Anastasius. It is the same year that the synagogue in Daphne was burnt down. Members of the Green faction at Antioch, under the threat of arrest by the *praefectus vigilum*, sought refuge at St John's outside the city. On hearing this, the *praefectus vigilum* took a force of Goths and entered the church, found one of the noters under the altar, killed him, dragged the body from the sanctuary, cut off the head, set off towards Antioch, and on reaching the bridge across the Orontes, threw the head into the river. When the Green faction found out shortly after, they went out to St John's, retrieved the body and re-entered the city. The sequence of movement from the church towards Antioch that led them to come to the bridge might be thought to suggest that the church lay across the Orontes from the city, but the Greek is unclear and it is just as possible that the prefect and guards entered the city and kept going until they came to the bridge. It all depends on whether one interprets the disposal of the head in the Orontes as opportunistic or intentional. That it may have been intentional is suggested by the precedent set for the contemptuous disposal of a body in the Orontes c. 480 when the Antiochian bishop Stephen was murdered at the martyrion of St Barlaam (see Barlaam, St. Mark continued).

Sources: Malalas, *Chronicon* (Paris), pp. 324–25; *Antioch*, pp. 603–604.
Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 603–604 and 797–98.

John, St. Martyrium of

Although John the Baptist is present in the *Life*, the church of St John is not mentioned. It is possible that the church of St John is the same as the church of St John the Baptist mentioned in the *Life*, but this is not certain.

whether at this time there was a specific church dedicated to the saint. Theodoret, writing in the 5th century, mentions that in his day the relics were housed in the same place as the martyrium (see Koumeterion). He claims that the ascetic Theodosius and the martyr Macedonius were both buried in the same tomb of the martyrs (the tomb of the ascetic Theodosius was upon orkov). Theodosius in particular was deposited in the same place that housed the ascetic Aphraat and was said to have had Julian in his neighbourhood and fellow-lodger. Macedonius' body was deposited with those of Theodosius and Aphraat.

By the sixth century, church knowledge of St Julian appears to have been in existence. The evidence is provided by Severus of Antioch in an ambiguous, if not a lengthy sermon delivered on the festival of Julian. He alludes to the fact that the location of the church, which he is preaching contained a limpidity of the martyr and was situated like a large and powerful rock in front of the gates of the city's walls. Whether this describes the Koumeterion or a building separately dedicated to the cult of Julian is uncertain.

The record that in 521, some three years before the completion of his history of the *Chronographia*, the relics of the martyr Marinus were moved in Syria Prima outside of the city of Gindarus. From the time of the earthquake brought to Antioch and deposited outside of the city in 521.

Earlier in his account of the aftermath of the earthquake, Isidore mentions by name a *plentarius* Thomas, who robbed Antioch at the time of the disaster. He is described as two or three miles outside the city at the gate called St Julian's.

It is plain that at the time of the Persian attack on Antioch (540) the army retreated to the area outside the walls except for the church of St Julian and the buildings surrounding it. They were spared.

The ambassadors were housed there. When the pilgrim from Antioch visited Antioch in 570, St Julian is listed as a significant attraction. The heart of the church is in 573, when the Persians under Khusro II attacked Antioch and set fire to the city.

Gregory of Antioch, on his occasion the martyr's martyrdom, mentions that the martyr's martyrdom was a significant attraction. The martyr's martyrdom was a significant attraction. The martyr's martyrdom was a significant attraction.

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One further reference to a church dedicated to Julian occurs in the *Life of Pelagia*, a text that is difficult to date and from which it is especially difficult to tell what is fact from fiction. There the bishop of Antioch summoned all the synod of neighbouring bishops. When the night arrived they are told to stay in the Martyrium of St Julian (the Syrian version has them lodge in its hostel).¹⁷ As they wait around, the bishops emerge from their cells and sit on chairs next to the gate of the martyrium. No other detail about the martyrium is supplied.

Sources: John Chrys., *In s. Julianum* (PG 50, 665-76; trans. Mayer in Leemans *et al.*, *Let Us Die*, pp. 129-40); Theodoret, *Hist. rel.* 10.8 (Theodosius) 13.19 (Macedonius) (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, pp. 450, 508; trans. Price, pp. 92, 107); Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 75 (PG 121, p. 131); Malalas, *Chron.* 17.16, 18.49 (Thurn pp. 448, 479-80; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, pp. 240, 265); Procopius, *De bello persico* 2.16.7-8 (Houry 1, p. 194); Anton. *Plat.* (CCSL 175, pp. 153-174); Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* 4.40 (Bruno Krusch [ed.], *MGH. Scriptores rerum Merovingiarum*, vol. 1, Part 1, fasc. 4 [Hannover 1937], p. 172); *Vita Pelagiae*, gr. 1 (Petitmengin *et al.* 1, pp. 77-78); *Syr. Chron.* 724-4-884 (Brooks, p. 145; trans. Chabot, p. 112); Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* 9.24 (Chabot 4, p. 287; Chabot 2, pp. 206-207).

Literature: Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochiens', p. 279; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 544-55, 561-62; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 340; Todt, *Region 2*, pp. 798-99; Allen, *Welcoming Foreign Saints*, pp. 13-15; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 153.

Justinian, Church of

see Church of the Theotokos

Kaoussie (Qauslyeh), Church at

see Babylas, St, Church of

Kerateion, Church in

see Maccabees, Church of

Koumeterion

Little that is concretely known about this site. The label *koumeterion* (martyrium) appears to have served a temple function at Antioch in the 5th century. It was attached to the area of Antioch's east side, located

zation situated at the intersection of the excavations of the 1900-1901 and 1902-1903. This same area is the site of certain martyrs' tombs in its own small chapel. The question is whether this chapel is whether in Antioch. If this is the case, it is one with every other chapel distinguished from the others by its proximity to St Drosis. The chapel is to reach those of the city, becoming a specific building at this point, and was used for the celebration of the Eucharist.

It is always distinguished in the city, and at that time the body of the martyr who had been martyred at the gate to Daphne. In a sermon on the occasion of the burial, St John Chrysostom preached at the burial site. The body was there when the body had been buried. It was the case with a number of other martyrs, including Ignatius (108-50), Ignatius' body was brought to a martyrdom in Antioch (see Ignatius, *Letter to the Romans*), and the three martyrs were buried in the reign of

at Qausyeh.
 1. Seleucia
 2. lery area
 3. ancient
 4. amir,
 5. its
 6. re

Gallus (351-54) and, when Babylas' body was translated from that martyrdom in the reign of Julian (361-63), temporarily prior to their translation to a permanent place in the city. The (Orontes (see Babylas, St, Church of). It is possible that the relics of Julian, a Cilician bishop and martyr, also found a resting place in this locale (see Julian, St, Martyrium of) before they were translated to their own martyrdom. In the mid-sixth century we find an example of a body translated from a cemetery at Daphne to this cemetery, where a small martyrdom was built over it and an annual commemoration at the site inserted into the liturgical calendar (see Thomas, Martyrium of).

Evidence regarding the shared martyrdom at this locale is vague. In his homily on St Drosis John Chrysostom distinguishes the martyrdom that holds Drosis remains from other local martyrdoms in that it contains a large number of tombs. These are visible in all directions upon crossing the threshold. Reaching the martyrdom involves exiting the city, as it lies outside the city walls. John also indicates that he comes to this particular martyrdom both for liturgical celebrations and for private devotion, implying that it is used for the former more than once a year. While the identification cannot be made with certainty all of these factors suggest that we are dealing with a common martyrdom and thus the Koimeterion, although the so-called Romanesque martyrdom must also be kept in mind (see Martyrium 2, At the Romanesque Gate). A martyrdom outside the city that contains a large number of burials is also the site of a liturgical celebration on Good Friday in John Chrysostom's time. In the opening to his homily *De coemeterio et de cruce* he reflects on why this particular site has traditionally been chosen, when the city is hemmed in by the relics of martyrs on every side. The reason is the great number of bodies (appropriate since on this same day Christ descended to the dead), which is why the site is chosen, rather than the martyrdom itself, is a shared koimeterion. This same practice is alluded to in the early sixth century by Severus of Antioch in a homily delivered on Good Friday, 5 April 500. There, he closes his homily by explaining that the fathers desired that everyone gather in the place called koimeterion on Good Friday, to rest after the feast of the Resurrection, for so that they might demonstrate by their actions the redemptive suffering of Christ for everyone. This suggests that the homily is part of a larger tradition, and that the Koimeterion, while the practice of assemblage there, is a tradition

- p. 113) *Jiron*, 1319 (Thurn, p. 25); trans. Kiffers et al., p. 178).
 Evagrius, *PG* 4.35 (Hidez and Parmentier).
 p. 240) Gregory of Antioch, *Hom. in mattheum*.
 Moschos, *Pratum spirituale* 83 (*PG* 87, 2945; Job).
Spiritual Meadow (Pratum Spirituale) - intertext
 Kalamazon MI 1992] p. 71.
 Literature: Paul Peeters, *Saint Thomas d'Émèse - a vie de saint*
 45 (1927), pp. 262-96 at p. 288; Franchi, *Cavalieri*, II
 di Antiochia - *Studi e Testi* 119 (1928), pp. 146-53; Eltester, 'Die
 Antiochias' pp. 278-79; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 293, 415, 556; Maraval
 d'Antioch p. 117; Soler, *Le Sacré* 191-93, 195, 201-20; Alpi, *La route royale*
 p. 153; MacMullen, *The Second Church*, pp. 26-27.

Leontius, St. Martyrium of, at Daphne

Malalas records that on 9 July 507 CE an incident of mob violence occurred during the celebration of the Olympics at Daphne that led to the creation of a martyrium of St Leontius. The mob led by a charioteer of the Green faction, Kalliopas, attacked the Jewish synagogue in Daphne, set fire to it, plundered everything in it, and massacred a large number of people. Malalas' assertion that the same crowd set up a cross on the site and converted it at this time into a martyrium dedicated to St Leontius, is to be treated with some suspicion. Severus of Antioch had personal reasons for introducing the cult of St Leontius to Antioch and it is more likely that the martyrium was constructed only after his arrival (512) and that it is only at that point that relics of the saint were translated to Daphne. Severus supplies important detail about the martyrium. He indicates that it was situated at the very top of the road to Daphne¹⁰⁷ and that everyone who passes by the church goes in, prays, remembers the sufferings of the martyr and anoints themselves with oil from the revered urn. In his day a large number of poor people sit there all the time, barring the way and not relenting until passers-by give something. On the day before Severus delivered his first homily there (18 June 513) a carriage bearing the saint's relics had been brought there covered with clothing, bread, rings and necklaces. Children were held up to touch it, giving rise to an incident in which a child was run over, but miraculously escaped unhurt.

Ignatium
 Barlaam
 Droside
 Ierome, De
 (PO 371).

of the
 the treasury
 arch, we who

Church of the

Sources: John Chrys. *De c. martyribus* (PG 50, 645-4) (trans. Mayer in Lee-
mans et al. pp. 117-18); Augustine, *Sermo* 360 (Sant'Agostino, *Discorsi* 5
[273-340A]; Nu. i Santi; introduzione di Antonio; Casquarelli, traduzione,
note, i. indici di Marcella Recchia; Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana, Opere di
Sant'Agostino 33 [Rome 1986] p. 454); Syrian Martyrology (Wright,
p. 428); Malalas, *Chron.* 8.23-171; Ithuri, pp. 156-347; trans. Jeffreys et
al. pp. 109-239 [Slav. J. John of Nikiu, *Chron.* 90-50] (Zutenberg, pp. 1-52
trans. Charles p. 136).

[illegible]

Les martyrs Mac-
but William F.
PhD diss. Yale
at least from
on the the

Sources: John Chrys., *Adv. Judaeos* III (PG 48: 852); Anton. *plac. sin.* 17 (CCSL 175, pp. 153–174); *Life of Marutha of Maipherkat Arm.* (Ralph Marcus [ed. and trans.], *The Armenian Life of Marutha of Maipherkat Arm.* HThR 25 [1932], p. 57); *cod. Vatic. Arab.* 286 (Guidi, p. 149); *Procopius, Spring, Description of Antioch*, Translation, pp. 13–156 (La Strange, *Constantinople*).

U. I. Zidek, *University of Minnesota*, and the second, the algebraic approach of M. J. R. Cantrell, *University of Minnesota*, and the third, the geometric approach of J. J. O'Rourke, *University of Minnesota*. The first two authors are also authors of the book *Geometric Probability*, published by Cambridge University Press in 1990. The third author is also author of the book *Computational Geometry*, published by Cambridge University Press in 1987.

- p. 368 (al-Mas'ûdi); Ter Haecken, *Description*, pp. 200–204, 212–13 (Abd al-Makarrim XI XIII XXV).
 Literature: Eltester, *Die Kirchen Antiochias*, pp. 283–85; Jeremias, *Die Makk. abder Kirche*, *Antioch*, pp. 448, 561; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 341; Vinson, *Nazianzen*, *Homily 1st*, pp. 178–86; Todt, *Region 2*, pp. 118–19; Schneider, *Jüdische Erde*, pp. 199–215; Solet, *Le Sacré*, pp. 118–23; Joslyn, *Stemiatkoski*, *Memoria*, pp. 12–14.

Machouka

see Church of Machouka

Martvrium

1. Called the Koimeterion

see Koimeterion

2. the Romanesian Gate

Two references to a martyrium associated with the Romanesian Gate: the first in Palladius, the second in the title to a homily preached by Chrysostom at Antioch (386–97) on the festival of Ascension.¹⁷⁷ *παράδεισος* in fact refers to more than one martyrium near the Romanesian Gate (πύλη τῶν μαρτυρίων πλησίον τῆς πύλης καλουμένης Ῥωμανησία – the homily title refers to a single martyrium of Romania – ἡ ἐκ τῆς μαρτυρίας τῆς Ῥωμανησίας). Although the titles appended to John's homilies are notoriously unreliable, one instance in which a greater degree of reliability attaches to the information they contain is a title preserves topographical detail that cannot be inferred from the contents of the homily, as in this case.¹⁷⁸ Palladius designates the place where John was ordered to meet the official who would take him to Constantinople as the gate in question (κοίμησιν τῶν μαρτύρων ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τῇ ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμανησίας). If this is the case then the place is located in the vicinity of the Orontes, the campsite of the martyrium of

In the case of the Romanesian Gate, the important detail about this site. It is possible that the place where the martyrs were previously buried is now the site of the church, or that it has been in existence for some time. The church has been the subject of a practice by two different traditions at Antioch: the approved and orthodox is indicated by the practice of burial in the church, and the unapproved is indicated by the practice of burial in the church. The difference between the two is credited as the spur to intervention by the current bishop (Flavian). He is said to have buried and blocked off the unapproved relics down below (κατέχευε καὶ ἀνέπαυε κάτω), without moving their bones from their site, thus leaving the approved martyrs isolated. Precisely what this means is unclear in light of John's comment that until this alteration all of the martyrs, approved and unapproved alike, lay beneath the floor. In light of what the archaeological evidence reveals about burial practices in the Church of St Babylas (see Babylas, St, Church of), however, it may be that he had the unapproved tombs sunk lower into the floor and covered over completely by the flooring in such a way that they were no longer visible, leaving the covers to the approved tombs exposed.¹⁷⁹

Sources: John Chrys., *In ascensionem* (PG 50, 441–43); Palladius, *Dial.* 5 (Anne-Marie Malingrey with Philippe Leclercq [eds.], *Palladius, Dialogue sur la vie de Jean Chrysostome* [MChret 341–42, Paris, 1988], p. 119; trans. Robert L. Meyer, *Palladius, Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom* [Ancient Christian Writers 45; New York, NY, 1987], p. 36).

Literature: Baumstark, 'Das Kirchenschrift', p. 68; Franchi di Cavalieri, 'Il compendio', pp. 152–58; Eltester, *Die Kirchen Antiochias*, p. 281; Downey, *Antioch*, p. 188; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 341; Wendy Mayer, 'Pastorale, Pastoral Care and the Role of the Bishop at Antioch' (UCL, 2003), pp. 38–70 at p. 63; Solet, *Le Sacré*, pp. 118–20; Joslyn, *Stemiatkoski*, *Memoria*, pp. 12–14; and p. 178; Mayer, 'The Late Antique Church at Qenneshray Recommended: Memory and Martyr Burial in Syrian Antioch', in John Leemans, ed., *Martyrdom and Persecution in Late Antique Christianity: Essays in Honour of Basileios Dehnamachidze* (Bibliotheca Patristica 1; Constantinian Theological Institute of Louvain-la-Neuve 241, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2011), pp. 1–61.

4. Of St Stephen

Stephens Protomartyr Martyrium of

At Seleucia Pieria

Church of St Seleucia Pieria

Of the Maccabees

Maccabees 2. Martyrium of the in Daphne

Mary, Church of

See Theotokos Church of the

Michael the Archangel
Church of

Church of Michael the Archangel appear to have been first built at Antioch in the second half of the fifth century. Malalas, as restored from the Slavonic (Thurn),¹² locate this during the reign of the emperor Leo I. He describes it as large. In the second decade of the sixth century Severus of Antioch preached a homily on the occasion of the deposition of the relics of the martyr Procopius and Phocas in a church of Michael. Since he spent his entire sermon persuading his audience that it is appropriate to locate together martyr and angels, it seems clear that the church in which the relics were deposited was dedicated to the archangel (he explicitly mentions the archangel Michael at the end). Despite Downey's belief that it is a separate building from the one established by Leo, there are no grounds for making a distinction and it seems reasonable to assume that Severus is preaching in Antioch that the two are one and the same. According to the Slavonic Malalas the church did survive the earthquake of 526. In connection with the Church of the virgin Mary, the Great Church it collapsed to the ground. It is indeed the same as the Great Church.

¹² For excerpts see John Malalas, *Chronicon*, ed. Ioann. L. Dindorf (Leipzig, 1861), p. 100, line 10.

¹³ See appendix (474-91).

as the Slavonic text indicates, the initial shock hit.

Malalas indicates that the church was built by the emperor Leo I, the empress Theodora, and the patriarch of Antioch. The church was destroyed down at the time of Khosro's attack on Antioch, and then the emperor Justinian had an immense church of Michael the Archangel built there, and his timing of events is suspicious and it is not unlikely that he magnifies Justinian's building campaign at Antioch after the earthquake and the effects of the Persian attack to exaggerate the impact of the latter. In that case, he and Malalas describe the same project. No reference to the church appears in the later Arabic sources.

Sources: Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 72 (PG 12/1, pp. 71-89); Greek fragment ending in Françoise Petit [ed. and trans.], *Fragment grec tiré des châtiments sur les derniers livres de l'Octateuque et sur les Règles, Severe d'Antioche*, Syriac glossary by Lucas Van Rompay (Leuven-Dudley, MA, 2006), pp. 66-69, no. 72, trans. of entire homily in Allen and Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, pp. 126-35; Malalas, *Chron.* 17.16 and 19 (Thurn, pp. 347, 351; trans. Jeffreys et al., pp. 239, 243); Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.10.23-5 (Haury 4, p. 80).

Literature: Baumstark, 'Das Kirchenjahr', p. 156; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 525-26, 552, 658; Canivet, 'Le Michaelion', p. 107; Pauline Allen, 'Severus of Antioch and the Homily 'The End of the Beginning'', in Pauline Allen and Elizabeth M. Jeffreys (eds.), *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?* (Byzantina Australiensia 10, Brisbane, 1996), pp. 163-75 at pp. 170-74; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 152.

2. Church of, in Daphne

Two churches of Michael the Archangel in or close to Daphne receive mention in association with the Persian attack on Antioch in 540 CE. Procopius records that at the time the Persian king Khosro visited Daphne, where he was responsible for ordering the burning of the church of Michael the Archangel along with certain other buildings. His visit in retaliation for the death of a Persian nobleman, killed by one of the Christians. Procopius stresses that nothing else was harmed. The church of Michael that was burnt is distinguished by him from the one near the forum, where it is pre-Christian, which was built by a certain Iovius. It is that church near which the Persian had been killed and about which orders had been given. The army is said to have destroyed the two churches and to have set fire to the wrong one. Procopius, in the fourth century, had access to a copy of a homily of Ephrem of Antioch (227-373).

previous synodus with the bishop (Flavian) in the 'new church' (Church) in his opening remarks John indicates both that the present audience is associated with the church (that is, they constitute a body of people who regularly worship in that building) and that in his absence they have enjoyed the presence of the bishop in the church also occurs regularly preached there. The homily is delivered on the festival of Pentecost, but he refers to the church only by the title of mother. His mention of the church is occupied for the festival, but that attendance has been much thinner on the preceding days supports the impression afforded by the previous homily to the effect that the church was in regular use at the time of the delivery. In each of these two homilies a further reference to the church occurs under this name at the close of the fourth century.

- Sources: Athanasius of Alexandria, *Tomus ad Antiochenos* 2-4 (Hanns Christof I. Neugebauer, ed., *Athanasius Werke*, 2: *Die Apologien* [Berlin, 2006], 123; John Chrysostom, *De Pentecoste* (PG 49: 15-16); *De Pentecoste* (PG 49: 15-16) trans. Mayer, *Cult* 321-330; *In primis Victorum hom* 2 (PG 51: 1-11) and *In illud* 2 (PG 51: 371-73) trans. Mayer and Allen, *John Chrysostom*, 10-41; *heodoret* *HI* 1.3.1 2.31.11 3.4.5 (Parmentier and Hansen, 180); *Chronicon paschale* 162 (Ludovicus Dindorf, [ed.], *Chronicon paschale* 162 (Ludovicus Dindorf, 2 vols; Bonn, 1844); Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale*, *Translated Text for Historians* (Liverpool, 1989), p. 38).
- Literature: Eltester, *Die Kirchen Antiochias* pp. 2-3; Downey, *Antioch*, 190-191 n. 135; van de Paerdt, *Zur Geschichte* pp. 8-9; Wendy Mayer, *John Chrysostom and His Audiences: Distinguishing Different Congregation in Antioch and Constantinople* *StPatr* 31 (1997), pp. 70-75; *Recht Baptismi et mystagogu* p. 223.

Paul Church of St

Church 5, 11 Seleucia Pieria (upper city)

Quasneih Church at

Quasneih Church at

Romanus St Martyrium

in the sanctuary of the holy... same martyrdom that he delivered... ber 513 (*Hom* 35). There he opened... for preaching on that day, which include the fact that... preached on the same date in this same church and because... the festival of St Romanus. On 16 November 513 he preached again at the martyrdom on the anniversary of his consecration as patriarch.

- Sources: Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 1 (PG 38/2, pp. 254-55), *Hom.* 35 (PG 38/2, pp. 438-57); *Hom.* 80 (PG 20/2, p. 424).
- Literature: Baumstark, *Das Kirchenjahr*, pp. 125, 127; Downey, *Antioch*, p. 512; Maraval, *Lieux saints* p. 142; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, pp. 140, 154; Allen, *Inquisitive Locals* pp. 6-8.

Seleucia Pieria (martyrium at)

see Church 1. In Seleucia Pieria (lower city)

Stephen, protomartyr, Martyrium of

A martyrdom of St Stephen receives mention in several different accounts, all associated with the earthquake of 526.¹⁹⁶ Malalas records that a fire extended from the martyrdom of St Stephen as far as the praetorium of the *magister militum per orientem*.¹⁹⁷ Although he locates this event prior to the earthquake.¹⁹⁸ The author of the *Life of Symeon Stylites the Younger*, who writes his account not long after Symeon's death

Manava reports that on Symeon's death in 2 September 459 the Antiochenes demanded his body. Consequently the *magister militum per Orientem* Ardaburius sent 1000 Gothic soldiers. The Goths were brought the body to Antioch where a martyrion was built for the saint, a large church which he was buried in a tomb.²⁰¹ Evagrius, who was interested in promoting Antioch's prestige adds that Ardaburius sent 1000 men to protect the city from relic hunters and to ensure the body was received safely. The Antiochenes' response was apparently successful as it became known that most of it was still in Antioch.

The Life by Antony, on the other hand, describes the

EVIDENCE NOT FIRMLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO A SPECIFIC SITE

1. Interior architecture, furnishings and decorative elements

1.1 Doves altar and icon

At the Synod of 341, Constantine I, Emperor, exiled patriarch of Antioch was condemned. The icon of the dove and silver statues of doves representing the Holy Spirit, which hung above the baptismal fonts and altar, were removed (see 133).

Both Severus and Philoxenus of Mabbur were subject to accusations of iconoclasm regarding doves. In Syria these birds were sacred to the goddess Aphrodite and their removal should be seen in the context of stamping out pagan practices.

Source: Zach. Rl. *Vita Severi* (PC 2/3 p. 342).

Literature: Honigsmann *Evangelium* 23 and n. 1.

Malala record that in 430 CE a petition for the ransom of captives held by the Saracens was circulated which prompted numerous donations at Antioch. These were deposited in what are known as offertory boxes (in Greek: *vousiva yagopvaktia*) in each church indicating that such boxes were a widespread fixture of at least the regularly used churches at Antioch.

Source: Malala *Chronicon* 18.59 (Thurn p. 487 trans. Jefferys et al., p. 270).

... containing the relic of St Drosis

Churches

the Elder, Eva

to the Jews

ways by the

which, when

the Antioch

is uncertain whether this persecution of Jews by Christians was a general phenomenon in most other regions, or if it is only a local phenomenon. The evidence back into the past of events closer to the present, such as the building of enhancing Symeon's image. That few sources are available for the same difficulties due to the confiscation of the synagogues, indicated in *Codex Theodosianus* 16.8.25-27 (15 February, 1 April and 2 June 405) addressed to the praetorian prefect Asclepiodotus. Downey, however, reads both the legislation and the confiscation of the synagogues in the region of Antioch as a response to a specific event – the burning and murder by Jews of a Christian boy in 411 in a town near Antioch. The episode is recorded by Socrates. If Downey's reading of events is correct, then it is possible that the authorities handed over certain synagogues to the imperially endorsed Christian community at Antioch in reparation. The question remains whether that Christian community subsequently converted them into Christian sites of worship and, if they did, whether they responded to the legal advice recorded in the *Codex Theodosianus*. That the Christian community resisted the return of the synagogues is suggested by the promulgation of the opinion twice, four months apart.

Sources: Soer., *HE* 7.16 (Hansen, p. 361); *Vita Sym. Syr.* 121 (trans. Doran IV pp. 189-90); *Th.* 16.8.25 and 16.8.27 (Mommisen and Meyer 17 pp. 893-94; trans. Pharr and Davidson, XV, pp. 125-26); *Exagius*, *HE* 1.13.1 (Bidez and Parmentier, p. 22; trans. Whitby, p. 361).

Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 459-61.

2.2 Justina

In the sixth century the pilgrim from Piacenza lists as significant attractions at Antioch: St Babylas and the three youths, St Justina, St Iulian, and the Maccabean brothers. Babylas, the Maccabees, and Iulian are all associated with specific churches or shrines at Antioch, which suggests that in the late sixth century Justina, too, had her own specific site. Whether she had her own church or martyrion or her relics shared a site with those of other saints is unknown.

Source: Anton, *Itinerarium* (CSEL 11, pp. 143-144).

Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, p. 501; Maron, *Antioch*, p. 41.

martyrium was a popular testimony in his time for those who sought
 favour from the same. (On the other hand, he complains, no
 in the silver columns above it that sup

picked out only with iron
 unsightly. (On the other hand, he complains, no
 not that. (On the other hand, he complains, no
 would be enough to complete the entire amount he says,
 could in fact easily be donated. (On the other hand, he complains, no
 christian community. He indicates that the church was part of the origi-
 nal plan of those who constructed the church, perhaps demon-
 strating that its construction lay not too far in the past.

The church is probably distinct from the location in which Drosis
 lies were situated at Antioch during the period that John Chrysostom
 then (386-9). In the one homily on St Drosis that survives
 indicate that the martyrium contains a large number of burials in
 addition to Drosis and that it was distinctive from the other local mar-
 tyria. In this instance he comments: 'the exodus from the city required
 the martyrium.'

683-94 trans. Mayer. *Cult of*
 Severus of Antioch. *Hom.* 100 (PC) 22/2, pp. 230.

339.
 133. Allen. *Welcome*

church completed under Gallus, caesar

Wood argues persuasively that an inscription recorded by Malalas
 though in him to record the completion of the Great Church at
 Constantius II has been misattributed and in fact refers to a
 no erected under the auspices of Constantius II by Flavius Julius
 constantius.

and the

suffers slightly

Glittering brightly, in every
 via Constantius, who served
 the comes Gorgonius served as

Since the tenure of Gallus at Antioch was brief and no other
 church constructed under him is mentioned in the source, Woods
 argues that the subject of the inscription is most likely the martyrium in
 Daphne to which Babylas' remains were translated.¹² He prefers more-
 over, to view it not as a dedicatory inscription for the building, but
 rather as a secondary inscription associated with a gift made to the building
 by the comes Gorgonius. This is a neat solution. It is equally possible, however,
 that Constantius had initiated the building of another church at Antioch,
 which was completed under the administration of Gallus and about which
 the sources remain silent. Socrates indicates that during the period of
 Meletius' episcopate (360-81), while the majority of the churches of Antioch
 were in the possession of the homoians, the followers of Paulinus (leader of
 the other Nicene faction) retained possession of one of the small churches
 inside the city,¹³ indicating that there were more churches in existence
 inside Antioch at this period than can be identified.

What this inscription can tell us, is nonetheless interesting. Either by
 Malalas' time, some two centuries later, the inscription had become dis-
 sociated from its original church and been incorporated into the Great
 Church during a period of restoration or, as Woods assumes, in Malalas'
 time the only record of the inscription survived in a written source.
 In the latter case, the error in attribution had either been made earlier
 and appeared in the source or was made by Malalas himself. Whatever
 the case, by c. 532, the date of the first edition of Malalas' *Chronographia*,
 the inscription was no longer associated with its original church. This
 may indicate that that church had ceased to exist sometime before
 c. 532.

Sources: Malalas, *Chronographia*, p. 280; trans. Jeffries, *op. cit.* 117.
 Literature: Woods, *Malalas' Constantinian*.

12. *op. cit.* 117, n. 100.

13. *op. cit.* 117, n. 100.

14. *op. cit.* 117, n. 100.

2.7 Cemetery (πανάκτη)

Severus of Antioch has no information about what appears to have been a stationary synaxis held in commemoration of the poor and strangers who have died in Antioch and are buried in the cemeteries called *panáktēta*. He comments about the poor attendance on this occasion, indicating that this was a commemoration that was not considered by the inhabitants of Antioch to be either particularly efficacious or attractive. A cemetery for foreigners in Daphne is mentioned in several sources that refer to the death of the monk (Thomas see Thomas Martyrium of) Evagrius mentions that when Thomas died in a hospice for the sick in Daphne, he was buried in the tombs of the foreigners (ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐν Ἀνδῶν τάφοις). The *Vita Marthae* also mentions this location. There Martha indicates that she will be buried among the foreigners ἐν τῇ πανάκτῃ λαφύνης where Thomas was initially buried.¹⁴ Since Severus refers to such cemeteries in the plural, however, it is possible that the cemetery for foreigners in Daphne was not unique and that a similar location existed outside the walls of Antioch. If that was the case, we cannot be certain in which *panáktēta* the commemoration was held.

Source: Severus of Antioch *Hom.* 76 (PG 121) pp. 133, 135-38; Evagrius, *HH* 3.3 (Bidez and Parmentier pp. 184-85); *Vita Marthae* 24, 28 (Van den Ven pp. 271-274).

Literature: Alpi, *La route royale* 1, pp. 153-54.

2.8 Church orientation

Socrates, discussing the peculiarities of practice in various churches of his time (c. 440 CE), asserts that in Syrian Antioch the site of the church (ἐκκλησία) is inverted. There the altar (θυσιαστήριον) does not face the east, but looks towards the west. The statement appears among a range of general assertions, which suggests that he is talking about the orientation of churches in that city in general, rather than the orientation of a specific church. It is to be noted that the floor plans of the three churches excavated in Antioch, the *Sanctuary of the Virgin Mary*, the *Sanctuary of the Holy Spirit*, and the *Sanctuary of the Holy Trinity*, all have their altars facing east.

Source: Socrates *HH* 2.2-3 (1).

Literature: Downy.

Cherubim, Place of the

In the supplementary tales of John Moschos, a story is recorded concerning a vision at the so-called place of the Cherubim in Antioch. The location is said to be extremely venerable, having appeared due to an image of Christ that stands there. The same location is referred to in the *Life of Symeon Stylites the Younger*, where it is referred to as an ancient part of the wall. On finding himself there as a child he also sees a vision of Christ, this time with all of the righteous in heaven beside him. Downy associates the location with the old Gate of the Cherubim set into the Tiberian walls, where the emperor Titus had mounted spoils brought to Antioch from the destroyed Jewish temple in Jerusalem. He also associates the area of the city with the gate leading to Daphne and the quarter known as Kerateion. The exact nature of the location and the image is unclear. Also unclear is the date at which the location began to be considered holy. Both sources date from the late sixth or early seventh century.

Sources: John Moschos, *Pratum spirituale* supp. 12 (Nissen, pp. 167-68); *Vita Sym. iun.* 9 (Van den Ven 1, pp. 9-10).

Literature: Downy, *Antioch*, pp. 554, 614-15.

Daphne, Church of

In the anonymous *Life of Martha*, mother of Symeon Stylites the Younger, a vision is attributed to her in which she sees Symeon in the church of Daphne, surrounded by people and then children from the countryside, begging for his prayers and help. It is uncertain how this information might be used, however, as the historical veracity of the source proves questionable on a number of points.¹⁵

Source: *Vita Marthae* 16 (Van den Ven 2, p. 26-27).

Euphemia, St. Martyrium of, at Daphne

The first sources that refer to a martyrium of St. Euphemia at Daphne date from the late sixth or early seventh centuries and it is uncertain

¹⁴ See Paul Van den Ven, 'L'antichristianisme synoptique dans la Vie de Marthe', *Revue de théologie* 106 (1997), pp. 39-55, and idem 1, pp. 9-10.

¹⁵ See Downy, *Antioch*, pp. 554, 614-15.

to what degree they can be relied upon. In the *Pratum spirituale* Moschus records a story about a priest monk, Thomas, who died at Daphne while on church business and by virtue of miraculous happenings after death was eventually proclaimed a saint and reburied there in the common cemetery. John Moschus claims that he died in the church of St Euphemia in Daphne. The story is told with minor variations in several other sources. Evagrius and is alluded to in the *Vita Marthae*. Moschus attributes the events described in the story to the episcopate of Domnus (545-59). Evagrius attributes them to Justinian's reign (527-65) and the episcopate of Ephrem (52-45). In Evagrius' version, however, Thomas dies in a hospice for the sick in Daphne. A martyrdom of St Euphemia is also mentioned in two testimonia by Severus of Antioch recorded in the Acts of the Lateran (649 CE) and Third Constantinopolitan (680 CE) councils. The testimonia are labelled an extract from a homily that Severus pronounced in Daphne in the martyrdom of St Euphemia after his elevation to the patriarchate. However, no mention of the martyrdom occurs among his surviving 125 homilies, and the profession of faith that he delivered publicly immediately on his elevation occurred in the Great Church.² The possibility that the hospice and the martyrdom were part of the same complex may account for the discrepancy between the accounts of Evagrius and John Moschus, but it is just as possible that the attribution of a martyrdom to Euphemia, the patron of the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE), is an early sixth-century embellishment later picked up in the conciliar Acts in order to cast doubt on the motives of the anti-Chalcedonian Severus.

Sources: Evagrius *HI* 4.35 (Bidez and Parmentier, pp. 184-85; trans. Whitby, p. 140); John Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* 88 (PG 87, 2945; trans. Wortley, p. 100); Acts, Lateran Council (ACO ser. 2, I, p. 324-10); Acts, Third Council Constantinople (ACO ser. 2, III/1, p. 104-3); Marc-Antoine Kugener, 'Allocution prononcée par Severus après son élévation au trône patriarchal d'Antioche' (1902), pp. 1-2 (1902); Downey, *Antioch*, p. 557 n. 231; Marc-Antoine Kugener, *Lieux saints*, p. 340; Alphonse Van den Ven, pp. 154-5.

Job, St. Church of

The author of the *Life of Symeon Stylites* mentions the church of St Job's (ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἵππ, church on the mountain of the horse). They play a role in the arrival at Antioch of the newly-declared patriarch, Domnus (545-59). It is unclear whether the phrase refers to a church in a suburb. Downey lists it as a church in his index, but makes no mention of it in his list of churches and monasteries in Excursus 17. Van den Ven interprets it as a quarter rather than a church.

Sources: *Vita Symeonis* 72 (Van den Ven 1, p. 62).
Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, p. 557 n. 231; Van den Ven 2, p. 79 n. 2; Marc-Antoine Kugener, *Lieux saints*, p. 340.

Martyrium in Daphne, Workshop of

A building in the Yakto mosaic border, labelled ΤΑ ΕΡΓΑΣΤΗΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ (figs 133a-b), is usually identified as the workshop of a martyrdom in Daphne. This reading of the inscription ('the workshop of the martyrdom') is not as certain as it at first appears. The group of figures to the right of the building, interpreted by Kondoleon as women buying votives for their visit to the martyrdom, are read by Levi as simply a group of three figures in conversation, while the two persons depicted in front of the building he associates with the scene to the left (game-playing in the colonnade). How one interprets the building and the figures adjacent to and in front of it thus depends on how one understands the inscription. While there is no hesitation about the location, Daphne, the inscription can also be read as 'Martyrdom's workshop', an interpretation that removes any hint of religious character from the scene.

Sources: Lassus, *La mosaïque*, pp. 133-34, fig. 12.
Literature: Eltester, *The Kitchen Antiochian*, pp. 280-81; Levi, *Mosaic floor plans*, p. 360 and vol. 2, pl. XXIXa; Downey, *Antioch*, p. 557 n. 231; Kondoleon, *Antioch*, p. 115.

Thomas, St. Church of

Reference to a church of St Thomas located at Antioch in the 4th century is from a tenth-century Arabic source, the *Kutub al-Bihar*. It is uncertain

history of Agapius (Mahboub or Menbad) Agapius the Melkite bishop
in 942 CE the question about the reli-
Hierapolis wrong his period at Antioch which
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the bishops He ordered the death of
without the consent of the emperor A number of dissent-
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Zacharias St Church of

in the sixteenth chapter of Book I Thurn, editor of the most recent
of the of John Malalas restores from the Slavonic
Greek manuscripts regard to the effects of
earthquake in CE on the city of Antioch the Greek, which
describes the devastation of martyria and monasteries as absolute, men-
tioning the Great Church by name claiming that it withstood the
catastrophe only to be burnt to the ground a number of days later. The
Slavonic text states that the great Church of Michael the Archangel and
Church of the Virgin Mary both suffered the same fate, along with the
Church of the Holy Prophets and the Church of St Zacharias. No other
source makes mention of this building, but the survival of Photius of a
reference to a homily by Ephrem (527-45) on the dedication festival of
the Holy Prophets confirming the rebuilding of that church (see Holy
Prophets Church of) increases the likelihood that the Slavonic text of
Malalas is accurate in this

(p. 239)

a Testi

Antioch (walled city)
Church of St Ignatius
Great Church
Palatia
Church of Cassian
Church of the New City
Church of the Maccabees (= Church of Karamanli)
Church of Michael the Archangel (?)
Church of the Theotokos (?)
Church of Sts Cosmas and Damian (?)

West (right) bank of the Orontes
Church of St Babylas
Martyrium at the Romanian Gate
Campus martius

Northern suburbs (left bank of Orontes)
Church in Machouka

Southern suburbs (left bank of Orontes)
Koimeterion
Martyrium of Thomas

Outside the walls (direction uncertain)
Martyrium of St Julian
Church of St John
Church of John the Baptist
Martyrium of St Barlaam

Antioch or suburbs (location uncertain)
Church of the Holy Prophets
Martyrium of Symeon Stylites the Elder
Martyrium of St Romanus
Martyrium of St Demetrius
Martyrium at the protomartyr Stephen

Antioch
Martyrium of the Virgin Mary
Church of Michael the Archangel
Church of Michael the Archangel
Martyrium at the Protomartyr Stephen
Martyrium of St Zacharias

Antioch
Church of the Virgin Mary
Church of Michael the Archangel
Martyrium of St Zacharias

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Constantine (306-3)

293-51: Palace destroyed

312-24 the Palace rebuilt

327 construction of the Great Church

Constantine II (337-61)

340 construction of the Great Church by Justin

341 (16 Jan.) dedication of the Great Church

Gallus caesar (351-54)

Babylas remains translated to martyrion near temple of Apollo in Daphne
martyrium of church completed

Julian (361-63)

Great Church in possession of homoian community

Babylas remains removed from martyrion in Daphne and probably deposited in Koimeterion

Great Church nailed shut

Jovian (363-64)

the newly-built church (Great Church?) is handed over to the Nicene 2 community

Valens (364-78)

Nicene 1 community worships sporadically on the *campus martius*
construction of the Church of St Babylas begins (?)

Theodosius I (378-95)

construction of Church of the Maccabees (?)

387 completion of mosaic pavements in three wings of the Church of St Babylas

Arcadius (395-408)

Theodosius II (408-50)

by 428 addition of baptistery complex to Church of St Babylas

Ivchaem converted into church of Irenaeus Irenaeus relics translated from Koimeterion

Marcian (450-456)

Justin I (527-527)

Justin II (565-78)

Tiberius II (578-82)

Maurice (582-602)

Phocas (602-610)

Anastasius (491-518)

sponsors rebuilding of church of St Babylas

507 rioter killed by police in Church of St Babylas

Daphne

512/13 construction in Daphne of the Church of the Holy Prophets

512-18 extension of Church of the Archangel in Daphne

512-18 relics of Procopius and Phocas deposited in Church of the Archangel

Justin I (518-27)

526 Church of the Theotokos collapses

Great Church burns to the ground

Church of Michael the Archangel collapses

Church of the Holy Prophets collapses

Justinian I (527-65)

c. 529 Justinian donates one of his robes, which is displayed in Church of Cassian

529 relics of Marinus recovered, translated to Antioch and deposited in St Julian's

new Church of the Theotokos built

new Church of Michael the Archangel built

Church of the Holy Prophets rebuilt

Church of Sts Cosmas and Damian built

Church of Michael the Archangel in Daphne built (?)

completion of rebuilding of round church with four niches (one of the above?)

repair of Church in the lower city, Seleucia Pietra

Martyrium of Thomas built in the Koimeterion body translated from cemetery at Daphne

540 Church of Michael the Archangel in Daphne burns down, Church of St Julian spared

Justin II (565-78)

573 Church of St Julian burnt down in Persian attack

Tiberius II (578-82)

579-80 Church of Cassian site of further ordination attempt

Maurice (582-602)

altar curtains in Church of the Theotokos catch fire

Phocas (602-610)

Phocas (602-610)

Phocas (602-610)

Phocas (602-610)

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Phocas (602-610)

MOTIVES AND INFLUENCES

The construction of a church, whether physical or conceptual, is not random. Why a church is built in the first instance or where it is located is due to a variety of causes, all of which can be determined, if we dig deep enough. A martyrrium may be built in a cemetery, because a body was buried there around which, with the passage of time, there developed a cult. At some point in its development the construction of a building to facilitate the cult becomes desirable. A church associated with a similar Christian cult may be built at the site of an indigenous non-Christian cult as a form of *damnatio memoriae*.¹ Similarly a church may be converted from a synagogue or temple. A cathedral might be situated next to the imperial palace to facilitate the interplay between secular and spiritual authority.² In one century churches containing relics will be located solely outside the official city boundary, in another also inside the city walls as the taboo on the burial of human remains within a city is gradually overwritten by a new understanding of the purifying effect of a martyr's relics.³ An earthquake, fire or army might destroy a church, necessitating its rebuilding. Churches naturally fall

1. As was the case with the cult of Michael the Archangel, see Bernadette Martin Hissard, 'Le culte de l'archange Michel dans l'empire byzantin V-VII', *Archivum* 30 (1972), 210-21, and Giorgio Ottaviani, ed., *I culti e i monumenti michellici nell'Italia bizantina: tra l'archangelato e il medioevo* (Bari, 1994), pp. 381-420, pp. 381-7. Cf. Pierre L'Abbe, *La Vierge et l'Archange Michel* (Paris, 1975), pp. 115-17, and pp. 136-7.

[illegible]

The most likely scenario is that we hear only about the destruction because its status was exceptional, that is, it was worthy of note because, until the completion of the Great Church in 341, it was the cathedral church. This status, in combination with its apostolic associations and alleged antiquity explains in part why it was targeted for destruction during the persecution of Christians under Galerius and Maximinus (293-313). As Antioch's cathedral and as a church that symbolized the apostolic mission to Antioch and therefore the Antiochene see's claim to pre-eminence within the Mediterranean East, its destruction would in part have eliminated a symbol of the authority that the leader of the local Christian community held, and in part have erased an important visual reminder of that community's claim to legitimacy and status, in addition to the more obvious effect of disrupting in a major way the religious rites that they practised. As we will see in Phase Two, Julian's immediate response when he wished to punish the dominant Christian community was to shut them out of their cathedral church and to confiscate its sacred vessels.

Little can be said about the reconstruction of the church except that, because of its status, its antiquity and its apostolic associations, there would have been strong motivation within the Christian community at Antioch to rebuild it as soon as the political climate became favourable. The question of who paid for the reconstruction is an interesting one: there is no suggestion in the sources that the emperor Constantine (306-37) was involved,⁹ so instead we must look to local patrons for support.¹⁰ That reconstruction of the Palia spilled over from the episcopate of Vitalis (c. 314-20) into that of his successor Philogonius (c. 320-41) may be an indication that it took some time to raise sufficient money to

It is interesting about the original construction of the Palaia (Old Church) at Antioch is of its age by the end of the third century. Equally, neither archaeology nor has been excavated that tells us how many churches existed at Antioch in the pre-Constantinian period. Even if the Christian community at Antioch was at that point more than 100,000 in the mid-fourth century, it seems unlikely that the Palaia would have been sufficient for its needs.²

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an opportunity to achieve both strategic elements—religious and imperial authority—within a single public act of largesse. It was his misfortune that he did not live to see the Great Church completed and that it was his successor, Constantius, who was to reap the immediate benefit of these rich associations.¹⁴

One other piece of information about Constantine's involvement in the construction of the Great Church may perhaps be adduced. Malalas situates the church on the site of a worn-out public bath, named after the emperor Philip.¹⁵ Krautheimer argues that, while the construction costs often came from the imperial treasury (the *fiscus*), the land for his projects was usually donated by Constantine from the *res privata* (the imperial estate).¹⁶ If Malalas is correct in asserting that the baths that were demolished were attributed to the emperor Philip, then it is not impossible that the land had passed down to Constantine's control.¹⁷ If this is the case—and admittedly this is something of a stretch—then we see at Antioch, too, an example of Constantine's donation of property from the imperial estate for the construction of a church.¹⁸

A number of monumental building projects initiated by Constantine in the East, intended to transform the cities in which they were situated by elevating the status of Christianity and securing a place for its religious buildings in the ceremonial life of those cities, were completed by his son Constantius.¹⁹ Among these is the Great Church at Antioch. While the sources tell us nothing about the extent to which Constantius

14. By the time of Theodosius, a site known to have been the location of some earlier Antiochian church built by a Constantian emperor (see various items in this study).

15. Possibly Philip the Arab (c. 240–249). See Malalas, *Chron.* 17. 6; Mallos, p. 240; Jefferys et al., p. 172.

16. Krautheimer, *Building Program*, esp. 55–3. Krautheimer also notes that the emperor Constantine, among the various emperors, was the only one to have the opportunity to build a church on the site of a demolished one, which may indicate that the imperial estate held some extent of property and land.

17. This is a possibility, but it is not certain. The site of the bath of Philip is not known, and it is not clear whether it was the same as the site of the church. The site of the bath of Philip is not known, and it is not clear whether it was the same as the site of the church.

18. This is a possibility, but it is not certain. The site of the bath of Philip is not known, and it is not clear whether it was the same as the site of the church. The site of the bath of Philip is not known, and it is not clear whether it was the same as the site of the church.

Constantine and Theodosius I

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... building con ... Antioch can ... completely ... consider the likeli ... no longer been ... taken care of ... when he rebuilt ... had no diffi ... on a larger and ... of a Great Church must ... Krautheimer points out that ... before 324 or after it, were ... the local landscape. Lavishly ... imperial munificence via which Con ... the gift of previous emperors and to ... upon whose power he drew ... placed—at Rome as the centre of ... in west Constantinople as the centre of impe ... Jerusalem the spiritual heartland of his ... churches was situ-

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Elsewhere, however, Theophanes, who
dedication of the church in 340/1, says that it took six years
to the starting date, 335. Theophanes, how
the ninth century and most probably utilizing the same
a Syrian chronicle of the seventh century at this point,²⁶ which

leads to the suspicion that the six-year construction span that he records derives less from fact than confusion in the tradition. Greater reliability can perhaps be placed on Socrates, who, writing in the 440s, claims that the dedication of the church took place in the tenth year after the laying of the church's foundation.²⁷ His claim locates the start of construction in 330. Even if we accept a delay of several years between the conception of the church and the breaking of ground for its construction (perhaps it took a while to demolish the baths and prepare the site to receive the foundations), Socrates' proposed construction span nonetheless places progress on the structure of the church at an advanced stage when Constantius took over the project. In this light Henck's proposal that Constantius contributed significantly to the church's construction rather than merely putting the finishing touches to it may well be optimistic. Unless we assume major delays in the early years, some six or seven years into the project he would not have been in a position to make any substantial alteration to the structure of the church. The date at which Constantius sent out invitations to bishops to attend its dedication may also reduce the time available. Sara Parvis argues that the dedication synod began already in December 340 and that the invitations were sent out in the summer of that year, which may indicate that the church was complete or very close to completion up to six months prior to its dedication.²⁸ Any changes Constantius made are thus likely to have been to elements that were scheduled for completion later in the project, such as the interior layout, the furnishings, or the interior and exterior decorative program.

Whatever the case, it is at the dedication of the Great Church that we first find evidence for the role of churches in the power plays at Antioch that became associated with religious factionalism. In connection with the celebration of the dedication of this imperial foundation to the city of Antioch a synod was summoned comprising some thirty bishops. Although Socrates and Sozomen, who are both sympathetic to the Nicene cause, attribute the summons to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, with the motive of the suppression and destruction of the Nicene faith, this motive

²⁶ p. 293.
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The way in which the overwhelmingly Christian sources frame these events is significant. That Gallus' choice of Babylas was perceived by them as a political act is indicated by their record of the events that followed.⁵⁰ When the neo-pagan Julian became emperor and was resident at Antioch he is said to have attributed the failure of the famed oracle of Apollo at Daphne to the relics of Babylas. This is peculiar when we consider that within the intervening eight or so years other bodies had been buried alongside Babylas in the martyrrium.⁵¹ Ignoring the fact that the removal of just one body would have failed to cleanse the temple precinct of pollution, the ecclesiastical historians nonetheless claim that it was only the extraction of that of Babylas upon which Julian insisted.⁵² Equally worthy of note is their silence regarding the three child martyrs who were most likely consistently translated with him. This singling out of Babylas serves to emphasize his status as a martyr and to demonstrate his symbolic significance for the local Christian communities. That the bodies other than those of the three children are so cavalierly dismissed most likely indicates that they were simply those of ordinary citizens who had elected to be buried next to the martyr in the practice of *deposito ad sanctos*. The episode concludes with yet another political act – the triumphant *adventus* of the saint as the relics are escorted from the martyrrium in Daphne back to the common cemetery, accompanied by the chanting of a psalm verse with obvious anti-'pagan' and therefore anti-imperial overtones.⁵³

That the Christian sources construed these events as the triumph of the power of one deity (the Christian God) against the powerlessness of another (Apollo) and of a champion of the faith (a powerful martyr) against an impious (and therefore impotent) emperor becomes even clearer when we look at their framing of what happened to the temple of Apollo. Preaching some twenty or more years after these events, the Antiochene priest John Chrysostom describes as an act of (the Christian) God the lightning strike which immediately incinerated the cultic statue in the temple of Apollo, constructing the ruined temple as a permanent symbol of the powerlessness of paganism and the adjacent, thriving

⁵⁰ See the discussion in the Introduction, p. 10. For the Christian sources on the events of 302, see the Appendix, and Hanson, pp. 180–87.

⁵¹ John Chrysostom, *Homilies*, 20.97C, 98C, p. 306, and Part 5.6. For the Christian sources on Apollo at Daphne, see the Introduction, p. 10.

⁵² See, for example, Bidez and Hansen, p. 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

⁵³ See, for example, Bidez and Hansen, p. 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

⁵⁴ See, for example, Bidez and Hansen, p. 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 9

erty is a patent symbol
marked contrast to Ammianus
In the account Julian sus-
ed the fire and in relat-
in of worship that
political human act
ended by closing the
authority Ammi-
that the fire was the
The motivation
nian community may have had an underlying sec-
us, during Julian's concentration of crops in the region
in combination with drought leading to crop failure brought
shortage that in turn led to inflation. Since the drought
the winter of 360 or the spring of 362.⁵⁴
that Antioch is the place that Babylas' re-
back to the martyrdom at the temple of Apollo in
The hostility towards Julian that resulted
tempt to control the inflated price of food at Antioch may
contributing factor to the triumphalist manner in which the
palace was effected.

concerning Babylas does not end there but continues
out into the reign of Valens. Here the story alters from one of two
contending religious powers to one of competing factions within
the same religion. The bishop Meletius, spiritual head of the larger of
the two Nicene Christian factions at Antioch, who had originally been
elected to the episcopate by the homoian community, further exploits
the symbol, capitalising in Babylas' relics transforming the martyr
into a champion of Nicene Christianity. To place this transformation in
perspective is the time that the *Lexicon Gallus* first translated the relics
Daphne the martyr was adopted under the homoian banner, which

is promulgated
me of Antioch.

NEW BYZAN-
BYZANTINE
brought may
ated locally

was the faction of Christianity approved by the emperor of the time
Constantius.⁵⁵ It was the local homoians again who were responsible in
the early 360s for the defiantly anti-Julian translation of Babylas' relics
from Daphne back to the common cemetery.⁵⁶ Theodoret confirms this
by indicating that it was against the homoians that Julian retaliated.⁵⁷
Upon being elected as the next homoian bishop in 360, however, it
became apparent that Meletius did not share that community's doctrine.
His neo-Nicene sympathies led him, on return from his first exile, to
gather around him a second Nicene community in opposition both to
the homoian community (who simply elected a replacement bishop) and
to the original Nicene community presided over by Bishop Paulinus.⁵⁸
Perhaps as early as the retranslation of Babylas' relics to the common
cemetery in 362 or 363 Meletius resolved that the move would not be
final. He would build a church in Babylas' honour and translate the re-
lics for a third time, reburying them at its centre.⁵⁹

The location of this church was strategic. Bearing in mind the con-
straint that a church intended to house a body could not at this point in
time have been built within the official boundary of the city of Antioch,⁶⁰
it lay in isolation yet close to the city, across from the island in the river
Orontes.⁶¹ The island housed the imperial palace.⁶² More importantly the
church was set next to the military parade ground (the *campus martius*).
During the reign of Valens, when Meletius' faction was for the large part
banned from worshipping within the city, its main locus of activity was

⁵⁴ The situation was perhaps more subtle at Antioch at this point in time. Pierre L'Orange
Malosse, *Antioche et le kappa*, in Bernadette Labrousse, Pierre L'Orange, Catherine Viatore
Salom (eds.), *Antioch de Syrie. Histoire, images et traces d'une grande cité antique* (L'Asie
Mém. 5; Lyon, 2004), pp. 77–90 at pp. 81–82, suggests that Antioch was the capital of Constantine
at this period and that Constantine did not, however, reside at Antioch because it was too small
to accommodate that he was, however, becoming increasingly identified with Antioch.
⁵⁵ On this point see Charles Bernardini, *Constantin le Grand et l'Église d'Antioche*
Osten bis zum Ende der Herrschaft des Kaisers, in *Antioche, son histoire, son théologie*
Tübingen, 1988), pp. 13–15.

⁵⁶ Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.10 (1980).

⁵⁷ Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.10 (1980).

⁵⁸ Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.10 (1980).

⁵⁹ Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.10 (1980).

⁶⁰ Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.10 (1980).

⁶¹ Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.10 (1980).

⁶² Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.10 (1980).

for the construction of a church of the Maccabees within the walls of Antioch at around this same time. Here the argument is highly speculative but not improbable. If we accept that the conflicting evidence concerning Christian veneration of the Maccabees at Antioch is best resolved by positing the existence of two churches, one constructed prior to the end of the fourth century, the other converted from a Jewish healing shrine in Daphne some time not before the end of the fourth century but prior to the end of the sixth century,⁷⁸ then it becomes necessary to explain why the Christian community (or one faction thereof) found it useful to construct inside Antioch a church dedicated to martyrs still largely viewed as Jewish, while in Daphne a fully functioning and well-known Jewish shrine dedicated to them continued to attract a broad-ranging clientele. In this instance Vanson argues that the motive was not appropriation or assimilation but once again differentiation.⁷⁹ Just as the lay Christian had no interest in distinguishing between homoian and Nicene martyrs, since the discourse on martyrs suggested that anyone martyred for the sake of Christ offered direct access to God,⁸⁰ so those Christians who used the healing shrine in Daphne presumably had little interest in the precise religious affiliation of the relics that effected the cure, so long as the cure was effective.⁸¹ In fact, since they were being taught to view the Maccabees as having willingly undergone martyrdom too for the sake of Christ,⁸² the disquiet on the part of ecclesiastical leaders with their use of the shrine cannot have lain with the relics. The bulk of their concern must have rested rather with who was at that time in possession of them. Since wresting possession of the shrine away from the Jewish community was evidently not a viable solution at this point in time,⁸³ the next best solution would have been to set up an alternative version of the cult that was distinctive from that observed by the Jewish community. The construction of

⁷⁸ On Maccabees 1-2.

⁷⁹ On the Vandalic, Visigothic, and Byzantine Martyr Cults and the Cult of the Holy Sepulchre, in *Christian Martyrs: From Persecution to Persecution*, ed. by J. Vanson (Leiden, 1994), pp. 146-170, pp. 146-148.

⁸⁰ On the cult of the martyrs, see Vanson, *Christian Martyrs*, pp. 146-170, pp. 146-148.

⁸¹ On the cult of the martyrs, see Vanson, *Christian Martyrs*, pp. 146-170, pp. 146-148.

⁸² On the cult of the martyrs, see Vanson, *Christian Martyrs*, pp. 146-170, pp. 146-148.

⁸³ On the cult of the martyrs, see Vanson, *Christian Martyrs*, pp. 146-170, pp. 146-148.

⁸⁴ On the cult of the martyrs, see Vanson, *Christian Martyrs*, pp. 146-170, pp. 146-148.

church dedicated to St. Babylas in Antioch would
have established a distance between the
two churches. The church of St. Babylas was
located in the city of Antioch. A place during the reign
of the emperor. Christian
Jewish festival (192)

Overview of Phase Two

In the c. 300-350 phase, the church of St. Babylas in Antioch by the
em. In this phase we can speak with a degree of confidence about four
the Koimeterion was situated in the cemetery to the left of the road to
the city. The Church of St. Babylas was situated
across the Orontes from the island, and the
cathedral is likely to have been situated in
the Koimeterion situated within the *temenos* of the Fem
the Koimeterion. The martyrdom of the Romanesque
at least during the reign of Valens (and
time of Constantine or earlier), while the
the Koimeterion has been in existence the longest (perhaps
third century). The martyrdom in Daphne
the Church of St. Babylas, which perhaps
complete by the late 300s. To these
the Koimeterion, which was on the annual
viewed as a martyrdom,⁸⁶ even though
the Koimeterion cannot have contained actual
known of, or even only that by the end
of the reign of Juveninus and Maximinus

of the Jewish and
of solidarity
of the Koimeterion
d together in
tion of the

époque de
Ant. Tard.
leading to
St. Babylas
standing
multiple

martyred c. 362). Ignatius (brought back from Rome by 392) and for
time Babylas, and presumably the three child-martyrs associated with
him (up to c. 352, and from c. 362 to before 386). Of the Romanesque
martyrium we know only that it held more than one set of relics
and that the relics it contained had been deposited during a period
spanning at least one change in possession between homoian and Niceno
factions. The identity of the martyrs is unknown. By 386 the Church of
St. Babylas contained the relics of both Babylas (and the three children)
and of Meletius. At this same period the martyrdom in Daphne still held
the burials of a number of other persons, identities unknown. The gap
where Babylas' relics had resided had been carefully preserved. A large
number of the martyrs whose festivals were celebrated at Antioch by
the Nicene faction led by Meletius (and subsequently Flavian) cannot
at this point in time be assigned to a specific site. Among these are
Julian, Pelagia, Drosis, Lucian, Barlaam, the mother and daughter trio
Domnina, Bernike and Prosdoke, and Romanus.⁸⁷ It is uncertain
whether some of these did not in fact have their own small chapels built
over their tombs in one or other of the two cemeteries. It is also uncer-
tain where the relics of Eustathius and Philogonius, bishops of Antioch
in the early decades of the fourth century whose festivals were likewise
annually celebrated,⁸⁸ were located.

We can speak with certainty of only three churches that did not con-
tain relics—the Palatin, the Great Church and the Church of the Maccabees—although it is clear that at least one more church, described as
small,⁸⁹ existed. All three were situated within the city walls. The Palatin
had been rebuilt and construction completed by 324 at the latest. It was
situated in the old part of the city. The plans for the Great Church appear
to have been put into place by 327, although it is possible that construc-
tion on the foundations did not begin until at least 330. The church was

⁸⁶ Identified from the bones discovered on their common tombstone in the Koimeterion
at Antioch 386-97. See *Journal of Theology*, 19, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 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It is during the reign of Leo I that the first Church of Michael the Archangel appears to have been constructed at Antioch. The associations between imperial authority and Michael that were to become patent in the sixth century under Justinian (see Phase Four) are at this point too weak to invoke as an explanation for why Leo chose to situate a church dedicated to the archangel at Antioch at this time. It may be, however, that the healing cult that was by this time becoming associated with Michael offered some incentive.¹⁰⁹ On the night of 13-14 September 488 a severe earthquake hit Antioch.¹¹⁰ Severus, in a homily delivered on

14 September 513, recalls the events. Casualties and injuries were severe. Those who could fled the city for the mountains and countryside. Some made for Daphne. Seleucia and attempted to escape by boat. Those who were not in shock or too grief-stricken gathered the corpses on carts and brought them to the church in which he is now preaching where they conducted Christian inera Evagrius provides details about the impact of the earthquake on the city. The buildings were densely populated and nearly all the buildings had been built up through the beneficence of emperors, were destroyed. While there was damage to the city, it was largely spared. Some buildings collapsed in the Ostracine district. Since by this time there were most likely several churches in the new city, we should expect a number of churches were damaged or destroyed. It thus be in response to this event that the emperor Leo I (457-74) had the Church of Michael the Archangel constructed. It is also noteworthy that it was only a year later that the body of Symeon Stylites the Elder was translated to Antioch and deposited in the Great Church. This suggests the Great Church was not affected in any major way by the earthquake and may be a further argument against its location in the city.

At some point in the second half of the fifth century a church was built in the lower city at Seleucia Pieria. Evidence as to what prompted the construction of this church is scarce but Kleinbauer argues persuasively that its status was most likely that of the port's cathedral.¹¹⁴ The history of the episcopate at Seleucia may thus serve to place its construction in perspective. Kleinbauer argues that although the episcopate of Seleucia is attested as early as 359 CE and perhaps dates back at least to the Council of Nicaea, it is not until 459 that Seleucia is accorded the status of a metropolis. It is in the decades immediately following this year that the windblown acanthus leaves of the capitals were removed from the building (fig. 97) date and perhaps also the style of

the mosaic pavement in the church's ambulatory (figs. 128-32).¹¹⁵ In this light the construction of the church in response to the change in status of the see of Seleucia, perhaps even with the intention of demonstrating it, becomes a distinct possibility.

Little else can be said about the construction or alteration of churches at Antioch in the fifth century, except perhaps to point out that is missing. Daphne receives no mention in our sources. While in the second decade of the sixth century the bishop Severus refers in his homilies and letters to a number of churches that had clearly been in existence for some time. Some, if not in fact many of these, most likely came into existence during this period. One example is the Church of the Virgin or Theotokos, extensions to which were added under the emperor Anastasius (Phase Four). While it had been in existence long enough by the last decade of the fifth century for expansion to be desirable, it is unlikely to have been built in Antioch much prior to the Council of Ephesus (431).¹¹⁶ A second church is the martyrion of St Barlaam. Again, before the end of the fourth century there is no indication that a separate martyrion had been dedicated to Barlaam and it seems most likely that he was buried in the Koimeterion. In 481, however, Stephen, a Chalcedonian bishop of Antioch was murdered while celebrating the festival of the Forty Martyrs in a church outside the city walls which Severus later confirms is primarily dedicated to Barlaam. For how long the martyrion had been in existence at the time that Stephen was murdered is unknown. Severus gives witness to the existence of other churches and martyrions that most likely also came into existence during this phase. The baptistry, the Church of Cassian, the church in the new city, the Church of St John, and the martyrion of St Julian, St Romanus and St Demetrius are all unattested prior to the homilies of Severus, but appear by that point to be well entrenched in the life of the city. It would appear that many more churches than the extant sources record had their construction initiated in the fifth century.

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The... building activity... Severus is the recon... and sacred building... of Seleucia Pieria... delivered in Seleucia... 515... mentions that this... a building programme sponsored by emperor Anastasius.¹⁵⁰ The... the city one of the seven bishoprics subject to the patriarch... Antioch was at that time the anti-Chalcedonian Nonnus, a... Mesopotamia, who at the request of Apamene lobby... Constantinople had been passed over as bishop of Amida by Ana... Whether we have to see the building program in... some eight or nine years later as an eirenic gesture towards Nonnus or the emperor's part or as necessary for the maintenance of a high-profile Syrian port or as a continuation of public imperial support for Severus' patriarchate, it is impossible to tell. Ironically it was to be the port of Seleucia Pieria that afforded a last glimpse of their homeland to hundred of anti-Chalcedonian Syrian bishops including Severus, who were exiled by Anastasius' successor Justin I, from 518 onwards.

Although Severus' homilies and to a lesser extent his letters, provide precious information about existing church buildings and a small amount of building activity in Antioch and its surrounds, it seems that the patriarchate of Antioch during this period was not well-off. Severus complain bitterly about the financial strain which he found himself... about the necessity... over debts and... of economic

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decline documented for Antioch and the surrounding region at the time,¹⁵¹ and suggests that the ecclesiastical turmoil in the fifty years after the Council of Chalcedon—a turmoil which was felt nowhere more than in Antioch—had taken a financial toll in the area. In particular the fact that more churches were needed to accommodate the rival groups would have contributed to this drain,¹⁵² but it may also have been the case that many church assets at the time resided in property causing a cash flow problem.¹⁵³

As we have already noted, the death of Anastasius in 518 and the installation of his pro-Chalcedonian and pro-western successor Justin I (518-27) marked a savage revision of ecclesiastical policy throughout the empire. Anti-Chalcedonian bishops, clergy, and monasteries were forced into exile. No city was to experience this more than Antioch, whose iconic anti-Chalcedonian patriarch, forced into hiding in Egypt for twenty years, was critical for the ecclesiastical unity for which Justin, and more particularly his nephew, co-regent, and eventual successor Justinian, strove. Severus' successor Paul, the former warden of a hospice in Antioch, quickly acquired the nick-name 'the Jew' and, following imperial policy, was hostile to anti-Chalcedonians. It was during his short patriarchate (519-21) that a conflagration occurred in Antioch, which, Malalas tells us, resulted in a burnt area from the martyrty of St Stephen to the praetorium of the *magister militum*.¹⁵⁴ It is not said that any churches were involved; it was but a presage, records the chronographer, of worse things to come. All other events relating to church buildings during Justin's reign are connected with the severe earthquake in May 526, which, together with taking the life of the patriarch Euphrasius, destroyed the Great Church, the Church of the Theotokos, the Church of Michael the Archangel, the Church of the Holy Prophets, and possibly the Church of St Zacharias.¹⁵⁵ Many other earthquakes occurred over the subsequent eighteen months and buildings collapsed also at Seleucia and Daphne. 'The emperor provided much money for the cities that had suffered', Malalas informs us non-specifically.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ Introduction, p. 101.

¹⁵¹ Paul Malalas, *Chronographia*, 12.10-12.11. Malalas also mentions the destruction of the church of St. Michael the Archangel in Antioch in 526, but does not mention the destruction of the church of St. Zacharias.

¹⁵² See, for example, the account of the destruction of the church of St. Michael the Archangel in Antioch in 526, which Malalas mentions in the same context as the destruction of the church of St. Zacharias.

¹⁵³ See, for example, the account of the destruction of the church of St. Michael the Archangel in Antioch in 526, which Malalas mentions in the same context as the destruction of the church of St. Zacharias.

¹⁵⁴ Paul Malalas, *Chronographia*, 12.10-12.11. Malalas also mentions the destruction of the church of St. Michael the Archangel in Antioch in 526, but does not mention the destruction of the church of St. Zacharias.

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severus was still administering from Egypt would
to political etc. together with that of the
of the heads of the imperial hosts and a
leader of the imperial army was theo
divided in the church in question there were
dedicated to Michael in Daphne and its vicinity, one of
have been reconstructed by Justinian after 526. Michael is
associated with a healing cult which began in sites associated with
deities and would have been a popular saint in times of
that an archangel commonly features on coins minted
the empire during Justinian's reign a practice which began
the reign of his uncle Justin I, when the archangel
replaced the previously typical winged victor (figs. 136-37),
reference to the emperor
church of the Holy Prophets and the Church of St Zacharias, the
the Slavon. Malalas were also
earthquake of 526. The church was rebuilt soon

after.¹⁵¹ Repairs to the church in the lower city of Seleucia Pieria were also undertaken at the same time. In Antioch a round church with four adjoining triclinia, which cannot be identified, is said by Zachariah Scholasticus to have been rebuilt under Patriarch Ephrem.¹⁵² When it was completed in 537/38, 132 bishops from Ephrem's jurisdiction now ostensibly purged of anti-Chalcedonians were significantly summoned to Antioch for a dedicatory ceremony in which the affirmation of Chalcedon and the anathematization of Severus played a prominent part. It is not clear whether this event occurred before or after Severus' death on 8 February 538.¹⁵³ Also uncertain is whether the Great Church was part of Ephrem's rebuilding programme: Evagrius writes of the most holy church whose dome was fashioned by the patriarch with timber from Daphne after it suffered during the earthquake in 526.¹⁵⁴

Some at least of the rebuilding activity after 526 was rendered futile by another earthquake on 29 November 528, in which Malalas says the buildings that had been reconstructed after the former shocks collapsed, as did the walls and some of the churches.¹⁵⁵ An example of this seems to be the repairs being made to the church in the lower city of Seleucia Pieria, which were interrupted by the second earthquake.¹⁵⁶ Patriarch Ephrem reported the new calamity to Justinian, who ordered that the name 'Antioch' be replaced by 'Theoupolis' (City of God) and simultaneously poured money into Antioch, Laodicea and Seleucia, granting their inhabitants three years' tax relief. Justinian emphasized his largesse towards the city with the minting in Antioch of a copper coin series unique to that city, in which the emperor had himself portrayed seated on a throne in a stance similar to that of the archangels minted on his other coins (fig. 138). The iconography was clearly directed towards the citizens of Antioch and appears to have been intended to communicate to them the emperor's special status as a recipient of divine favour.¹⁵⁷

It is perhaps during this same period of intense rebuilding that the Church at Machouka came into being. It is Haensch and Donceel's view, suspect, it was constructed by a migrant community that had settled

see the city
in 1911.
a. Firenze
p. 67
edition, p. 368
Fatime and

see Part One.

see the pp. 80-81 and 122.

see the pp. 80-81 and 122.

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see the pp. 80-81 and 122.

invasion and sack of Antioch in 1140 are well known from the *Topographia* (ed. 1875, 211ff.). There is reason to suspect that the Persians looted the gold silver and marble of one of the Constantinian churches but spared the building itself.¹ While one of the churches of the Archangel Michael at Daphne was burnt,¹⁰³ the Julian (56) is six kilometres outside the walls of Antioch, and used the relics of the martyr Marinus, was left untouched by the Byzantine ambassadors were lodging in buildings in the Church of Babyla must have survived this event and the pagan Iron Placenza both mention it at the close whether the Church of the Archangel Michael was burnt or not. The monks were rebuilt

Although Justinian's successor, Justin II (565-78), and his wife Sophia were actively engaged in building activity in Constantinople,¹¹⁴ there is no record of their largesse in Antioch. In fact we have very little information about Antiochene churches at all during their reign. While we have the evidence of the *Piacenza pilgrim* (c. 570) of the Church of St Babylas and the three children martyred with him,¹¹⁵ of the Church of St Eustachia,¹¹⁶ the Church of St Julian,¹¹⁷ and the Church of the Macabees,¹¹⁸ we do not know, for example, whether the Church of St Julian, which was burnt down by the Persians in their attack on the suburbs of Antioch in

the city which had been
burned earlier was
rebuilt of timber for an
enclosed by John of
evidence that the
which the city's
r. 1 - thus (5/8-82)
building in Antioch
emperor Maurice was
ing caught fire

USE AND FUNCTION

1. On the habit of holding markets at *marturis* on feast days see *Leclercq et al.*, *Top. et Hist.*, pp. 11–12. Christian churches were not the only religious buildings that inspired *marturis* or *emarturis*. On the function of xenotegones as *emarturis*, i.e. where mixed commercial activities took place and in which business transactions and other non-religious activities were held, see Ben-Zion Ben-Haim and Joseph Mervin, 'Markets and *emarturis* in a premodern society', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1983, 44, pp. 1–14.

Christianity but is also a phenomenon in the worship of a number of religions documented in Part I. Whether it is useful for the study of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the traditional term 'liturgical architecture' is not very useful. It relates to the study of the church and its development. It was recorded this in the church and its development. The situation at third question is the nature of the church. The traditional liturgy of Antioch studies of Constantinople, Jerusalem and Rome show how professions to transform and between churches integrated these buildings into the urban and suburban topography. If the case of Antioch was of such within the eastern half of the empire, were stationary liturgies of a landscape. A fourth phenomenon observed Antioch is the movement of saint bodies from to, and between churches. A fifth question is the constant possession, disposition and repositioning of the church. What these practices tell us about the use and function of the church is of considerable interest. The sixth question is more essential. What happens inside Antioch churches? Here we will explore the flow of movement within the building, where the audience and clergy were positioned. The seventh question is a number of inscriptions found in the churches inform us about the clergy associated with individual structures. In a seventh section we explore who they were

Born's view is character-
 istic of the concise summary
 of the work of Yasin, Saints
 and Community

Martin Com-
brunson (eds.),
p. 13 Brisbane,
97-98), alludes
to men and
the personnel

and attempt to discover how they can be used: the personnel attached to Antioch's churches. Finally, we attempt to explore the use of churches beyond the liturgical by examining the two non-liturgically oriented churches—the Church of St Babylas and the Church in the lower city, Seleucia Pieria. Both show development over time that includes the addition of rooms that are not part of the worship space. Since both have been examined in the past largely from static points of view, the question arises as to what additional knowledge can be gained by studying each building as an integrated complex.

MARTYRIUM OR CHURCH?

Labels such as 'martyrium', 'palace church', 'chapel', and 'cathedral' were utilized by art historians in the first half of the twentieth century to categorize early Christian religious buildings as architectural types. Since that time new discoveries have been added to the structures that were surveyed and analyzed and many of these labels are no longer adequate. The problem lies in part with the assumptions about a building's origins and function implicit in each category, and in part with the greater diversity and local variation to be found in the expanded corpus of churches. It also reflects a change in the questions asked of these buildings, particularly in regard to the eastern half of the Roman empire. Where once historians of art and liturgy applied comparative methodologies, seeking out common types and looking for evidence of broad influences, now archaeologists and social historians are more interested in the diversity that regional architecture displays and seek to explain form and function on a more local level.⁷

Richard A. Horsley, *Early Christian and*
marks western
article by Theodor
und ihre Deu-
Rh. Heft 62.
Eng. trans.: West-

Constantinian
ought to reside in
discussion of
Christian Archi-
of the term
Babylas, St.

century, for
Preach?
pg 83-105

At Antioch we find churches that, at least prior to the fifth century, fit actively neatly into these two categories. Before 459 C. the Great Church contained no burials and was clearly a "cathedral" house for worship.¹⁴ The Palaia, it would appear, also fit into this category. It was situated within the city walls, contained no burials that we can document, and was used for regular worship at least into the last half of the fourth century.¹⁵ During the fourth century the communion martyr-tomb or Koinoteterion, on the other hand, fits all of the criteria of a martyr-tomb. It was constructed over the tombs of martyrs and appears to have been used only on special occasions. In addition to the annual commemoration of the martyrs whose tombs it contained, a stational synaxis was held in it on Good Friday. This was added to the occasional worship services held at the church as a result of the symbolic appropriateness of the location and so does not contradict the strict definition of a martyrion. The martyrion at the Romanesian Gate, which also held multiple martyr tombs and where a stational synaxis was held on the festival of Ascension, and the martyrion at the Temple of Apollo in Daphne (another church containing multiple burials), most likely also conformed for the most part to the expected criteria.

By the second half of the fourth century, however, we find other churches at Antioch that do not conform, and this raises the suspicion that the categories have limited utility. That is, they are effective for the most part before the reign of Constantine, the period during which the two developments in ecclesiastical architecture retain a close link to their origins. At the end of Constantine's reign, when the translation of relics begins to occur and cases arise where a complete or partial body is brought into a church rather than a church being constructed around a body, the distinctions between the two categories start to blur and they become less useful. The most obvious case at Antioch is the church of St. Babylas. Built in the 370-80s to house the combined relics of Babylas and the three children who were martyred with him, which were about to be relocated for a third time, the church ought by most criteria to be categorized as a *martyrium*.¹⁶ It was constructed inside the city, not in a *chorion*, the domestic house of the Orontes, and two tombs were inserted

HALL & PAULIN ALL 1988

describes its original building time to be used in some contradiction. The building is not above from the ground. This suggests that in part it is a repository for the past. As we will see, the construction of the building is the existence of a building. In this sense the labels can be viewed as primary or original. Caution, however, is needed to indicate how buildings are viewed. Even when the labels offer a window onto the building, we conceived of it at a particular point in time. The building is not the way in which that building was put

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH

assumed in the literature about Antioch and its church is that from the time of its construction to its demise the Great Church was the cathedral. In one sense there is no problem with this. Since from the time of its dedication it does indeed appear to have played a significant role in the life of the city. When it comes to the question of how long it enjoyed this status, however, there is now

See below table 1

it was celebrated
(14-16). See, e.g.,
Cyrus preached by
in Mouth, p. 57.

the activities of
(1461-63). In
struction of the
from which
there is no
dedication in
from the
church in the
have given

some doubt. This is especially the case when we acknowledge that the evidence sustaining the belief that the Great Church was rebuilt after the earthquake of 526 and survived even the earthquake of 588 is ambiguous. A further question-mark is raised by the need to account for the attempt to consecrate an alternative patriarch of Antioch in the Church of Cassian in c. 579. If the Great Church was the cathedral church at this stage, why would it have been thought that a consecration that took place in an alternative church would have been considered effective? This question is particularly cogent when we consider that those attempting to perform the ordination were intending to overthrow the legitimately consecrated presiding patriarch. Since the consecration itself was illegitimate, legitimacy must have been thought to derive from the location. When we add in the question of precisely what it means to say that a building was the cathedral church, we begin to see that the issue is not as clear-cut as it at first appears.

In order to consider these questions with an open mind it is important first to acknowledge that from the time of the first bishop who had oversight of a Christian community at Antioch (Ignatius, died c. 110 CE) to the time of the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch John (631-48) Antioch had experienced at least two cathedrals—the Palaia (to at least the end of 340) and the Great Church (successor to the Palaia). For these purposes we define the cathedral church as the church in which the approved bishop or patriarch ordinarily presided, that is, as the episcopal church. The term cathedral is more ambiguous since, properly defined, it refers to a church with an episcopal *cathedra* or throne. If we consider the situation that pertained at Antioch after the Great Church was built, then Antioch contained two cathedral churches, the Palaia and the Great Church. If we next consider that at Antioch from the mid fourth century to the second decade of the fifth century there were three bishops (Nicene 1, Nicene 2 and homoian)¹ and from the 350s onwards two bishops (Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian) who presided over those factions within the Christian community simultaneously, then the number of churches in which either officially approved or not (but could be defined as) called a cathedral by their users in fact increases. Even if we assume that the churches were being exchanged among the factions, depending on which faction was accorded possession of the main church at any given time, the current emperor and when churches were exchanged, it is not clear if we ignore the fact that episcopal ordination was also

instance is the observation that for a while the Church of St Babylas and the Great Church shared the same clergy and operated as the same administrative entity.⁴² We should perhaps entertain the same possibility in regard to the church in the lower city at Seleucia-Pieria and the Great Church it succeeded as the port's episcopal church, and in regard to the Great Church and the Palaia in Antioch.

This solution does not resolve the question of why a baptistery was added to the Church of St Babylas in this early period, nor does it serve to explain what role it played at Antioch in relation to the presumed older baptistery/baptisteries at the Palaia and/or Great Church. If we consider that the Church of St Babylas had a peculiar status from the very beginning—that is, that despite the presence of relics it was functionally more than a 'martyrium' and was used on a frequent basis for synaxis⁴³—then a number of possibilities arise. One is that a separate suburban (or for that matter, urban) congregation became attached to it, such that by the 420s, when the baptistery was added, the church had its own complement of clergy. At this same time the number of baptisms performed at Antioch grew sufficiently large that it became helpful to perform them simultaneously at two separate locations. This scenario would be more plausible if we had evidence of other churches with their own congregations and clergy to which baptisteries were also added. Unfortunately, for this period the only comparable church is the Palaia⁴⁴ and, as we have already argued, it is likely either that baptisms were still performed there as a matter of course or that the congregants from that church were now baptized at the Great Church, the two churches being treated as one and the same administratively.

Another possibility is that the Church of St Babylas was from its beginning linked traditionally to the Palaia and the Great Church. It is of interest that John Chrysostom, who appears at one stage to have been attached as a presbyter to the Palaia, is to be found at another period preaching on a regular basis in the Great Church,⁴⁵ while also preaching semi-regularly at the Church of St Babylas. As we recall, the Church of St Babylas was built by Meletius, bishop of the larger Syrian metropolis of Antioch, to honour another, martyred bishop of the city. By 380 when John Chrysostom began preaching at Antioch, the bodies of both bishops had been interred there. Perhaps conceptually the church had been established as an episcopal mausoleum of sorts, and so had been set up in

... associated with
... it had been
... education.⁴² Both ex-
... and in Seleucia
... building but
... Klembauer that the
... purpose-built as its
... church was built
... some decades later.⁴³

... became associated with
... was likewise not original to the building but added
... of them. In the case of both the church in the lower city
... Pieria and the Great Church, this may well have been because
... replaced in situ another church that
... episcopal church of that Christian
... attachment to the older church as the proper
... persisted and it may have taken some
... to be transferred.⁴⁴ The use of
... immutably episcopal church for a trans-
... would have resulted in giving rise to the use of the older
... comparable situation appears to have occurred at
... Antioch when we observe the relationship in the second half of
... fourth century and early fifth century between the Church of St
... in the Great Church, which on its completion in 360 assumed
... episcopal status.⁴⁵ Perhaps of even greater interest in that

... second half of the fifth
... instruction following the
... pp. 59-60.

... Palaia again unknown
... baptism had occurred
... in the synaxis in the
... Palaia that was

... church in John
... there John
... but that it
... from which
... bishop is present
... liturgical

... continual use
... entire year

⁴² See, for example, the discussion of the Church of St Babylas in the

⁴³ Ibid., p. 100.

⁴⁴ See, for example, the discussion of the Church of St Babylas in the

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 100.

various liturgical occasions. In the main, own preach-
 great church, Palatia and
 to preserve such labels
 Church of St. [illegible] and attach
 are
 or bishop presided
 the
 to a single church
 church to church along
 the term
 principal church on
 the other hand, more used
 a church that denotes a single
 church or church-complex within the city around which the activity of
 the approved Christian faction is focused.

STATIONAL USE OF CHURCHES AND LITURGICAL PROCESSIONS

In discussing the concept of cathedral church, we raised the
 Antioch, the Churches of St. Babylas and Cassian were
 What do we mean by this term and what evidence is
 to practice it Antioch. The clearest definition of stational wor-
 ship for this period is supplied by John Baldovin in his study of the cities
 Jerusalem, Rome and Constantinople.⁶³ He describes it as a particular
 kind of worship service with four defining characteristics.⁶⁴ First, it
 always took place under the leadership of the bishop of the city or his
 representative. Second (the characteristic we have already observed), it
 was mobile: that is, it sometimes took place in the same church, at other
 times it was celebrated in different churches, including martyria. Third,
 the choice of the church or martyrium was dependent on the feast, fast
 or commemoration being celebrated. That is, it was prompted by extra-
 ordinary liturgical occasions: saints' feast days, anniversaries, special
 feasts such as Lent and Easter. Fourth, it was the
 All other services
 often associated
 in are liturgi-
 cated not just

in ascension

on a single church; rather, for the duration of the procession through the
 streets and public spaces of the city, the city itself became a virtual
 church. This phenomenon was associated with the kind of participation
 on such occasions. When a station was held at a martyrium after a pro-
 cession, the crowds that participated were often provoked by the homilist
 for their greater than usual size and the value of the martyr was said to
 be reflected in the broad cross-section of the urban (at times, also rural)
 population that the occasion attracted.⁶⁵

The bulk of our evidence for the stational and processional use of the
 churches of the city and its suburbs comes from the homiletic corpora of
 John Chrysostom and Severus. Some slight supplementary evidence is
 provided by the ecclesiastical historians of the mid-fifth century con-
 cerning practice in the mid-fourth century and in the second decade of
 the fifth century. John Moschus and Evagrius provide us with one final
 example from the late sixth century.

Our earliest example is of a procession from the martyrium within the
temenos of the Temple of Apollo in Daphne that proceeded along the
 road from Daphne to Antioch and most probably ended in a stational
 service just outside the city walls in the Koimeterion.⁶⁶ It was provoked
 by the emperor Julian's requirement that the Christian community
 remove the relics of Babylas from the martyrium. The elements on which
 all of our sources agree are the involvement of a broad demographic,⁶⁷
 the escorting of the chest that held the remains,⁶⁸ and the singing of a
 psalm verse selected for its appropriateness—in this instance, for its
 overtly anti-'pagan', covertly anti-Julian, message.⁶⁹ Socrates and Theo-
 doret characterize it as a festive occasion.⁷⁰ Whether they record what
 actually occurred or fill in the gaps from their own experience in the
 mid-fifth century, all of the elements they describe are found in process-
 ions at Antioch from the later fourth to mid-sixth centuries. In the

Wendy Mayer, *Domestic Participation and the Late Antique City: The Church's
 Supraecclesiastical Use of Space* (pp. 139-41, chap. 10) for further discussion. There is
 also evidence from the late fourth century, where basilicas that virtually represented the community

led by Severus (HE 5.18.54; Hanson, p. 144, 500; HE 5.19.18, 20-21, 23-24, 26-27, 29-30, 32-33, 35-36, 38-39, 41-42, 44-45, 47-48, 50-51, 53-54, 56-57, 59-60, 62-63, 65-66, 68-69, 71-72, 74-75, 77-78, 80-81, 83-84, 86-87, 89-90, 92-93, 95-96, 98-99, 101-102, 104-105, 107-108, 110-111, 113-114, 116-117, 119-120, 122-123, 125-126, 128-129, 131-132, 134-135, 137-138, 140-141, 143-144, 146-147, 149-150, 152-153, 155-156, 158-159, 161-162, 164-165, 167-168, 170-171, 173-174, 176-177, 179-180, 182-183, 185-186, 188-189, 191-192, 194-195, 197-198, 200-201, 203-204, 206-207, 209-210, 212-213, 215-216, 218-219, 221-222, 224-225, 227-228, 230-231, 233-234, 236-237, 239-240, 242-243, 245-246, 248-249, 251-252, 254-255, 257-258, 260-261, 263-264, 266-267, 269-270, 272-273, 275-276, 278-279, 281-282, 284-285, 287-288, 290-291, 293-294, 296-297, 299-300, 302-303, 305-306, 308-309, 311-312, 314-315, 317-318, 320-321, 323-324, 326-327, 329-330, 332-333, 335-336, 338-339, 341-342, 344-345, 347-348, 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1012-1013, 1015-1016, 1018-1019, 1021-1022, 1024-1025, 1027-1028, 1030-1031, 1033-1034, 1036-1037, 1039-1040, 1042-1043, 1045-1046, 1048-1049, 1051-1052, 1054-1055, 1057-1058, 1060-1061, 1063-1064, 1066-1067, 1069-1070, 1072-1073, 1075-1076, 1078-1079, 1081-1082, 1084-1085, 1087-1088, 1090-1091, 1093-1094, 1096-1097, 1099-1100, 1102-1103, 1105-1106, 1108-1109, 1111-1112, 1114-1115, 1117-1118, 1120-1121, 1123-1124, 1126-1127, 1129-1130, 1132-1133, 1135-1136, 1138-1139, 1141-1142, 1144-1145, 1147-1148, 1150-1151, 1153-1154, 1156-1157, 1159-1160, 1162-1163, 1165-1166, 1168-1169, 1171-1172, 1174-1175, 1177-1178, 1180-1181, 1183-1184, 1186-1187, 1189-1190, 1192-1193, 1195-1196, 1198-1199, 1200-1201, 1203-1204, 1206-1207, 1209-1210, 1212-1213, 1215-1216, 1218-1219, 1221-1222, 1224-1225, 1227-1228, 1230-1231, 1233-1234, 1236-1237, 1239-1240, 1242-1243, 1245-1246, 1248-1249, 1251-1252, 1254-1255, 1257-1258, 1260-1261, 1263-1264, 1266-1267, 1269-1270, 1272-1273, 1275-1276, 1278-1279, 1281-1282, 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as part of the procession in imitation of the original translation. This indicates that in some instances the receptacle that held the remains was portable. On the annual commemoration a public liturgy was held at the site, which can be defined as *stational*.⁷⁶ A *stational* liturgy was most likely observed likewise at the deposition of translated relics. In these instances there is a natural connection between the location of the station or end-point of the procession and the martyr who was being celebrated. That is, the procession wound its way to the church and a station was held in that church precisely because it was the acknowledged resting place of that martyr's relics.

A second kind of *stational* use of churches at Antioch can be observed that was an offshoot of this natural development. As we discussed earlier in regard to the distinction between 'martyrium' and 'church', although the bodies of the military martyrs Iulianus and Maximinus lay in the Koimeterion, by the 380s their annual commemoration was held not in the Koimeterion but across the Orontes in the Church of St Babylas. Their relics were clearly not present during the festival liturgy, which means that, if a procession was associated with this *stational* liturgy, their relics did not play a role in it. In a similar way in the early sixth century Severus officiated at *stational* liturgies on the annual commemoration of Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianus in a church that, as far as we know, held only Ignatius' relics.⁷⁷ Thus not all *stations* associated with martyrs were held at the actual church where their relics lay, nor were their relics always escorted in procession as part of the celebration. This dissociation between relics and commemoration is also observed in the later fourth century in the case of the Church of the Maccabees. As we speculated in Part Two, it is likely that the Church of the Maccabees (minus relics) was built inside the city of Antioch at the

⁷⁶ John Chrys., *Hom. in martyriis* (P. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

⁷⁷ John Chrys., *Hom. in martyriis* (P. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

⁷⁸ John Chrys., *Hom. in martyriis* (P. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399,

Friday they celebrated the
again today in celebrating
tom not to dishonour the
merwise the Chris
eering single festival
nihilism is associated
Christ and the site
the accumulation
appears to have been
the present station in
for having neglected

Where there may have been an excuse
non-Nicene that were buried in the church
it is particularly appropriate that the festival be cele-
brated at a place where a clear distinction has been drawn
between orthodox martyrs. His remarks suggest that
the festival of the Ascension was newly instituted by
Theodosius II or Flavian to celebrate the recent
victory. The political motive is justified by
the analogy with the more established
festival of the Koimeterion. The station is thus as
a symbol of Nicene Christianity at Antioch

The procession and station is found in Theodoret's
the second decade of the fifth century. At the time
of the Nicene factions at Antioch was finally
succeeded by Theodosius II as bishop of Antioch, organ-
ized a procession of clergy and people, chanting
psalms, which flowed like a river from
the church filling the entire agora in the
city. The station was chosen
this is also a rare
and moving
were around

no would have
e at Antioch in
martyr
Theodosius II
1877

meter of the city or in Daphne, movement would have been in the
other direction. In the cases where relics were translated from Daphne to
the Koimeterion (Babylas and the three children) and the monk Thomas),
movement towards the city would have been inside the city walls in
the cemetery. It is unlikely that this example is more as the station is
it appear. We should consider that once Theodosius II had translated
the relics of Ignatius inside the city to the newly consecrated basilica, on
his annual commemoration a procession most likely started from a point
point (inside or outside the city) towards a station at the church dedicated
to him.

This raises a question about the origins of the procession of relics.
While we argued earlier that there was an obvious relationship between
the processions that were held to escort relics on their translation and
the procession of these same relics to their church on their annual com-
memoration, there may have been a second motive at Antioch that made
the procession of relics desirable. As we argued in Part Two when explor-
ing why Theodosius II was able to convert the Temple of Fortune to a
church, when he chose that particular building and translated the relics
of Ignatius to it from just outside the city walls where they lay in the
Koimeterion, his choices may have had something to do with the apo-
tropaic properties that became associated with relics. In *De temetipso*
et cruce John Chrysostom claims that the saints form a protective wall
around the city on all sides.⁸⁷ We know that from an early period at
Constantinople relics were transported around the city's walls in order
to sanctify the city and cast their protective power around it a practice
that continued into the tenth century.⁸⁸ It is not inconceivable that at
Antioch, too, on the annual commemoration of a martyr the relics were
paraded from the church through the city—or perhaps in the fourth
century, if the taboo was still too strong, around the perimeter of the
city—and back to the church, where the station was then held. The
evidence neatly for the manner in which the relics were transported
from the church in the first instance in order that they could be
in procession to the martyrion. The fact that the relics were
transported and Severus only chose to hold the station at the church
annual station may perhaps be due to the fact that the station was
the station into the city and the end of the procession was the
procession from the martyrion of church into the city.

liturgical calendar, others, like the anniversary of Severus' ordination were chapters of short duration. Some will have been added as new relics like those of Procopius and Phocas, were acquired and/or new churches such as that of Cosmas and Damian, were added. Others will have died out as the use of churches altered or declined in popularity, as newer festivals were added to the calendar.⁶⁹ The same will have been the case with processional liturgies. As Baldovin concludes, in both the stationary use of churches in and around the city and in the processions conducted through the streets of Antioch and its suburbs, we see it work the dialectic between the development of the liturgical calendar and the urban space in which that calendar became a living reality.⁷⁰

MOBILE BODIES AND PRIVATE VENERATION

One of the factors that contributed to the changes in stationary use of churches that occurred at Antioch is the not infrequent translation of relics or bodies. We have already noted that Babylas was originally interred in the Koimeterion.⁷¹ There his body lay for the better part of a century, until the caesar Gallus (351-54) translated it to the newly built martyrium at the Temple of Apollo in Daphne. Since it was his particular body that Gallus selected for the martyrium, for what appear to have been symbolic reasons, we can presume that a cult had developed around the burial in the Koimeterion and that the latter had been used for at least private observance for quite some decades. The translation of the relics to the martyrium in Daphne can only have enhanced the status of the martyr-bishop within the local community and may have accelerated the development of the cultic practices associated with his relics. We know that between the time that they were deposited in the martyrium and the time that they were translated yet again, other bones (in addition to those of his three child companions) were buried near to the martyr's relics in the same martyrium.⁷² Perhaps most interestingly, the translation of the bones of the martyr-bishop to Daphne was not the last translation of his body. We know that at this time under the homocian bishop Leontius (384-88) we have

is reasons,
ries a rela-
ted in the

and obliterating their existence in a form which permanently altered the way in which people viewed and experienced the city. His intention in this was to ensure that the church would do so. Ignatius, on the other hand, was translated there in the early decades of the fourth century. The annual commemorative liturgy had been established by the time Ignatius' remains now resided. He had a tomb on the day which was the day of his translation.⁷⁶ Like the other churches, the church went through a second translation from the Koimeterion to the Church of the Archangel Michael in Antioch. This was a significant change in both public and private use of the church.

The public and private use of the church was altered by the construction of a new martyrion. In the fifth century the relics of Julian were translated to a new church at another location in the suburb. The existence in the first decades of the sixth century of a Martyrium of St. Romanus and of a Martyrium of St. Daphne in the city of Antioch suggests that in the fifth century those martyrs' relics underwent a translation to Antioch from his Koimeterion. The translation of Symeon Stylites the Elder radically altered the public and private use of the church which was again affected when the body was translated to its own purpose-built martyrion some forty years later. The festival of the martyrion must have been sourced and established. We know from Severus that the liturgy that was pre-
sented in 550 the body of St. Daphne to the church and an annual commemorative liturgy to the church and a reduction to

the Church of the Archangel Michael in Antioch of the relics of Procopius and Phocas, and the introduction by Justinian of the cult of Cosmas and Damian (presumably with attendant relics) to a purpose-built church in the city will similarly have altered existing practices at the churches in question and introduced new opportunities for varied expressions of personal piety.

The frequent movement at Antioch of entire bodies or relics, whether via translation or annually in a procession, raises the question of what a person who came to venerate them saw and where and how they were located in a church. At Antioch we have evidence of two options: intra-floor burial of entire bodies; and stone reliquaries that could only have held disconnected bones or ash. At least two of the excavated churches at Antioch, the Church of St. Babylas and the church in the northern suburbs at Machouka, contained intra-floor burials.⁷⁷ At the church in Machouka three tombs of brick construction were set into different parts of the floor of the narthex some time after its construction.⁷⁸ In the case of the tomb that nestled against the southern corner of the narthex that section of the narthex was subsequently walled off, creating what the author of the field notes describes as a mortuary chapel (figs. 19, 62). An entry to it was created in the north end of the eastern aisle of the basilica, so that the room that contained the tomb could be entered only from inside the church. There is no evidence that the other tombs, which were set near the north end of the narthex, were ever walled in. In that case they would have been visible upon entry to the narthex. All three tombs were paved over with flagstones that interrupted the pattern of the mosaic pavement. The date at which the church was built and at which these alterations subsequently took place is uncertain.

By the end of its life the Church of St. Babylas contained around twenty burials (fig. 23), although it should be noted that one of these was not inside the church but immediately outside the north wall of the west entrance. The five or six which extended along the eastern end of the nave and the three or four which were most likely added after the church ceased to be used.

the Church of the Archangel Michael in Antioch of the 11th century. Procopius and Phocas, and the introduction by Justinian of the cult of Cosmas and Damian (presumably with attendant relics) to a purpose-built church in the city will similarly have altered existing practices at the churches in question and introduced new opportunities for varied expression of personal piety.

The frequent movement at Antioch of entire bodies or relics, whether via translation or annually in a procession, raises the question of what a person who came to venerate them saw and where and how they were located in a church. At Antioch we have evidence of two options: intra-floor burial of entire bodies; and stone reliquaries that could only have held disconnected bones or ash. At least two of the excavated churches at Antioch, the Church of St Babylas and the church in the northern suburbs at Machouka, contained intra-floor burials.¹⁰⁹ At the church in Machouka three tombs of brick construction were set into different parts of the floor of the narthex some time after its construction.¹¹⁰ In the case of the tomb that nestled against the southern corner of the narthex, that section of the narthex was subsequently walled off, creating what the author of the field notes describes as a mortuary chapel (figs. 59, 62). An entry to it was created in the north end of the eastern aisle of the basilica, so that the room that contained the tomb could be entered only from inside the church. There is no evidence that the other tombs, which were near the north end of the narthex, were walled in. In that case they would have been visible upon entry to the narthex. All floors would have been paved over with flagstones that interrupted the pattern of the pavement. The date at which the church was built and at which these alterations subsequently took place is uncertain.

By the end of its life the Church of St Babylas contained around 1000 bodies. It should be noted that the church was not a simple rectangular building. It had a long narrow nave, outside the north wall of which was a long narrow apse, which extended along the southern wall of the nave. The church was dated after the church of St Babylas.

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corner acroteria is relatively plain, ornamented only with two equal-armed crosses. In shape it imitates the cover of a late antique, east Mediterranean sarcophagus. A funnel-shaped hole that expands inwards from a 1 to 9 cm diameter is set in the top of the lid, nestled between the arms of one of the two crosses. A comparable object found *in situ* in an annex to a fifth-century church in Horta in Syria is somewhat larger,¹⁰⁷ but defines the general type. It was found sitting on a free-standing marble base of slightly larger dimensions than the chest. A hole in the side of the chest collected in a cup-shaped projection the oil that was poured over the relics through the hole in the lid. An equal-armed cross on the facing gable of the lid is repeated on the main face of the chest and of the marble base (fig. 140). The facility for catching oil poured over the bones is indicative of a practice described in both the sermons of John Chrysostom and of Severus of Antioch. In the late fourth century John encourages his audience to come to a particular martyrrium, embrace the chest, take holy oil and anoint their foreheads, lips, neck and eyes.¹⁰⁸ In the second decade of the sixth century Severus claims that everyone who passes the Martyrium of St Leontius in Daphne goes in, prays, recalls the sufferings of the martyr and anoints themselves with the oil from the revered casket. Since Leontius' relics were escorted to his martyrrium as part of his inaugural commemoration, it is probable that the reliquary that was placed on a carriage for the duration of the procession was of this same type. Similarly, at the Martyrium of St Dometius, those who come there, whether seeking healing or not, touch the casket that contains the relics and anoint themselves with oil.¹¹¹

Despite the dating of stone reliquaries of this type to the fifth to sixth centuries, on the basis of John Chrysostom's encouragement to his audience to anoint themselves with oil sanctified by a martyr we should expect that this kind of reliquary was in use at Antioch as early as the

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We have already seen that from at least the late fourth to early sixth century members of the Christian communities at Antioch would visit martyria for private reasons on non-festival occasions. There they would pray at the martyr's tomb or reliquary, asking the martyr to intercede for them or to keep a loved one safe.¹¹⁸ They would touch the tomb or reliquary and, when available, they would also anoint themselves with oil.¹¹⁹ When the martyr was associated with healing, as in the case of John the Baptist and Dometius for whom we have evidence concerning the second and third decade of the sixth century, supplicants would sleep at the church.¹²⁰ They might also wander around inside and view the decorative cycle on the church's walls in which miracles performed by the saint were depicted.¹²¹ In the case of the Martyrium of St Dometius, they would make a votive offering of sheets of gold or silver to which the body part that required healing was depicted.¹²² The same practice was probably observed at the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian, after the cult was introduced to Antioch under Justinian (527-65), and at the Martyrium of the Maccabees in Daphne after it was converted from a Jewish healing shrine. In this latter instance it is likely that the change in possession made little difference to the private practices that were observed there.

118. John Chrys. *In martyres omnes* (unedited, trans. Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, pp. 247-48) delivered at Constantinople refers to wives praying at a martyrium for the husband's return, also the emperor praying for victory and recovery from illness at a martyrium. In *Vita Symeon* 2 (Van den Ven I, p. 41) Symeon the Stylite is depicted praying at a martyrium for his son's recovery from illness. Similarly at a chapel of the Maccabees Marutha's grand-son is cured of a fever. See also the Life of Marutha of Mapherkat, *HTB*, pp. 100-101.

119. See John Chrys., *De sa. Symeon* (unpublished, PG 50, 576-77) and the Life of Maximian (PG 50, 576). The Life of Maximian (PG 50, 576) describes the direct effect with the martyr's body and the capacity to drive out

of not earlier than ninth-century church relics stored in two cherubs) indicates the sixth century.¹¹⁷ Similarly, the central chamber of the church at Antioch can be dated to the early seventh century. The practice observed in the case of the bodies of both of whom were at Antioch within a year of their death (450-451) is not a bone fragment deposited but a body. Evagrius writes that in the body was still largely intact, including teeth. The bodies entered a martyrion at Antioch, depending on the martyr, they encountered either a martyrion or a tomb set into the floor. In some cases they would have been placed in a reliquary chest, how- ever, if the martyr had available oil for anointing themselves. Similarly, it was common for the bodies to be carried and escorted to the martyrion for commemoration. Since we know that the bodies set within the floor could on occasion be removed for the purposes of translation,¹¹⁸ the practice of setting floor burials too, some of which were processed on an annual basis.

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We have already seen that from at least the fourth to early sixth century members of the Christian communities at Antioch could visit martyrion for private reasons on non festival occasions. There they could pray at the martyr's tomb or reliquary, asking the martyr to intercede for them or to keep a loved one safe.¹¹⁹ They could also visit the martyrion reliquary and, when available, they would anoint themselves with holy oil.¹²⁰ When the martyr was associated with healing, as in the case of John the Baptist and Dometius for whom we have evidence concerning the second and third decade of the sixth century, supplicants would sleep at the church.¹²¹ They might also wander around outside and view the decorative cycle on the church's walls in which miracles performed by the saint were depicted.¹²² In the case of the Martyrium of St Dometius, they would make a votive offering of sheets of gold or silver tent on which the body part that required healing was depicted.¹²³ The same practice was probably observed at the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian, after the cult was introduced to Antioch under Justinian (527-65), and at the Martyrium of the Maccabees in Daphne after it was converted from a Jewish healing shrine. In this latter instance it is likely that the change in possession made little difference to the private practices that were observed there.

¹¹⁷ John Chrysostom, *In epistolam ad Romanos*, trans. Mervin R. Vincent, pp. 147-148. Chrysostom is referring to a martyrion but their husband's martyrion, the emperor praying for the emperor, and the emperor's mother praying for the emperor. (Van den Ven, 1, p. 48). Similarly, in a chapel of the Maccabees Marutha's grandmother prays to be given a martyrion. *Life of Marutha of Maipherkat*, trans. Ralph Marcus [ed. and trans.], *The Armenian Life of Marutha of Maipherkat*, *HTHR* 25 (1917), p. 571.

¹¹⁹ See John I. Healy, *De re, Bernard et Prodece* (PG 50, 640) and in *Isidore's Maximian* (PG 50, 640), where he encourages the practice and lists the blessings that result. He describes the martyrs' relics as a medium through which they have direct contact with the power of the Holy Spirit.

¹²⁰ Vita Syn. 110-111 (Van den Ven, 1, p. 110). The text also mentions that the martyrs' capacity to drive out demons, is a result of their relics.

¹²¹ Vita Syn. 110-111 (Van den Ven, 1, p. 110). The text also mentions that the martyrs' capacity to drive out demons, is a result of their relics.

¹²² Vita Syn. 110-111 (Van den Ven, 1, p. 110). The text also mentions that the martyrs' capacity to drive out demons, is a result of their relics.

¹²³ Vita Syn. 110-111 (Van den Ven, 1, p. 110). The text also mentions that the martyrs' capacity to drive out demons, is a result of their relics.

of the different uses of the buildings, which were still relatively discrete at this time. In other words, Leontius and his clergy preferred the churches used for regular worship and the pastoral activities associated with them. The churches, which may have had few staff attached, were used by Leontius for occasional liturgies only on occasion, and have been independent in the popular imagination.¹²³ It may be only the Koimeterion and other martyria that had been a cemetery (that is the martyrium at the Romanesque Gate) considered in this light. As discussed in Part Two, the temple of Apollo at Daphne was closely associated with the castratio (351-54) and had been set up (if not constructed) as a house for the remains of Babylas, who at this juncture becomes associated with the martyr's cult.

In 360 when Meletius—who was elected in that year to the episcopate of the homoian community—began to display neo-Nicene sympathies, he was deposed and sent into exile and a new bishop, Euzonius (360-75), was elected as his replacement. In protest, a second Nicene group began to assemble in the Palais. During the reign of Julian (361-63) we know that the homoian community held control of the Great Church,¹²⁴ which suggests that throughout this period they continued to control the majority of the churches used for regular worship in the city. Theodoros later says that Iovian (363-64) who briefly succeeded Julian, gave to this second Nicene group the newly built church (τὴν νεοκτίστων ἐκκλησίαν),¹²⁵ which indicates at this point a loss to the homoian community of at least some of the churches. It also raises the question of when, after the initial Nicene group (now under the leadership of Paulinus)¹²⁶ had been meeting and conducting their worship, Theodoros says that after Eustathius (bishop of Antioch, 325-50) was deposed, some of the homoian bishops were elected a patriarch of the city, and the community abandoned the church, and moved to the city of Antioch, and ap... themselves.¹²⁷ This suggests that by 364 the homoian community

When he returned once again to Antioch from exile, the Nicene I community refused to recognize the legitimacy of Meletius' consecration, since it had been performed by a homoian bishop. In defiance his supporters sat him on the episcopal throne in one of the churches situated in front of the city (that is, one of the suburban churches¹²¹). This manoeuvre not only confirms the existence at this time of episcopal cathedrae in churches at Antioch other than the Great Church and Palatia, but also indicates the authority that attached to churches that possessed them. It may also support the thesis of a developing statal use of churches in and around the city. This pre-emptive move was apparently successful. The Nicene I community eventually gained control of the majority of the churches, the Nicene I community appears to have continued to worship as they had done under homoian control (in some small church or churches), while from then on it was the homoian community who were obliged to hold their assemblies in the suburbs.¹²² That by this time the martyria of the city could be more readily controlled is perhaps suggested by the actions of Meletius' successor to the leadership of the Nicene 2 faction, Flavian (381-404). His restructuring of the burials in the martyrium at the Romanesque Gate so that martyrs who were to him identifiably homoian would no longer be visible and it was the Nicene martyrs alone who would strike the visitor's eye, suggests a degree of control by the officially approved faction over the martyrium that most likely did not exist when the homoians were in control of the city's churches in the 350s.¹²³ The schism between the two Nicene factions at Antioch persisted until the second decade of the fifth century, which indicates that this distribution of the city's churches continued for some thirty years. At this stage we lose sight of the homoian community in the sources. During the episcopate of Alexander (414-24) the two Nicene factions were finally fully reconciled in a ceremony in which the Great Church features prominently. At least officially, subsequently the majority of the Nicene Christians shared the churches of the city, worshipping together. We cannot be certain what occurred in practice

¹²¹ See, e.g., Cheloud and Vassilopoulos, 1984, 100-101.

¹²² See, e.g., Cheloud and Vassilopoulos, 1984, 100-101. See also, e.g., Cheloud and Vassilopoulos, 1984, 100-101.

¹²³ See, e.g., Cheloud and Vassilopoulos, 1984, 100-101. See also, e.g., Cheloud and Vassilopoulos, 1984, 100-101.

¹²⁴ See, e.g., Cheloud and Vassilopoulos, 1984, 100-101. See also, e.g., Cheloud and Vassilopoulos, 1984, 100-101.

¹²⁵ See, e.g., Cheloud and Vassilopoulos, 1984, 100-101. See also, e.g., Cheloud and Vassilopoulos, 1984, 100-101.

¹²⁶ See, e.g., Cheloud and Vassilopoulos, 1984, 100-101. See also, e.g., Cheloud and Vassilopoulos, 1984, 100-101.

been unable to do so. In the tumult that protesting Chalcedonian countered the same great church during in silence and while trying to jostle it having to say the they are making. was greeted with less use of churches that in be doctrine patriarchate (512-14). Appendix Table 1 shows that the homoiian way of great, including some of his history, his use of certain churches was only gradually that he gained full control worship sites. It may also explain why Severus repeated mention in the *Martyrium* of St Romanus, although the reason may be to celebrate the anniversary of his consecration there which the consecration ceremony was a personal devotion to the developing of a tradition by that time from its point of origin. factionalism within the Christian community at Antioch extend beyond the fact of which communities at a particular period when we fourth century and the developing martyrial calendar. One characteristic of the peculiar situation that pertained Bishop who were celebrated as martyrs. Eustathius and Meletius immediately existed from the pro-emancipation and Babylas were persons of the were a blank mark. As we appropriated at. There we

showed how the history of his cult in the fourth century was intimately linked to the construction and use of two churches. This appropriation of Babylas and the intimate nature of the link between Meletius and the Nicene 2 community raise yet another question. If the major festivals of the liturgical year (Epiphany, Lent, Easter, etc.) were celebrated in different churches by the three different communities, what happened in the case of the cult of the saints? Were some martyrs shared by all three communities, who came together on their festivals for the procession and station at the martyrrium? If the two non-approved factions were excluded from the festivals, did they continue to use the martyrria for private prayer and veneration? In the case of Meletius, would the homoiian, let alone the Nicene 1, community have been interested in commemorating him on an annual basis?¹⁵¹ And, once Meletius had been buried in the church of St Babylas along with Babylas, did his presence in the church make it a less desirable location for the homoiian and Nicene 1 communities? Or did the power of Babylas' relics and his long history at Antioch override such considerations? We cannot answer these questions because our sources are overwhelmingly sympathetic to, or written from, a Nicene 2 perspective. However, the fact that Flavian worked to obliterate the memory of the homoiian martyrs in the martyrrium at the Romanesque gate suggests that, when the factionalism within the Christian community at Antioch is taken into account, in the fourth century the relationship between official use of the churches where martyrs' relics reposed and private use becomes particularly complex. It also raises the question of whether, like the move by Christians to differentiate between their own celebration of the Maccabees and the Jewish celebration (Hanukkah),¹⁵² there were not also efforts between the factions to differentiate their martyrial calendars. It is possible, on the other hand, that the value attached to relics was so powerful in its own right that the reaction went the other way. In the case of Eustathius, in the homily John Chrysostom preached on his annual commemoration we observe sanitization of Eustathius' history to the extent that he is portrayed as a keystone in the foundation of Antioch of Nicene Christianity.¹⁵³ It is possible that the homoiian community put the spin on the history of Eustathius and Meletius in such a way that they were able to claim them with equal facility.

¹⁵¹ For example, the *Chronicon* of John Malactas (10th century) mentions the feast of Meletius on 11 June, but does not mention the feast of Babylas.

¹⁵² See pp. 145-146.

¹⁵³ See, for example, the *Homily on the Translation of the Body of St Eustathius* by John Chrysostom, in *PG* 49, 100-101.

¹⁵⁴ See, for example, pp. 145-146.

If the east arm and the *bema* within the central chamber were restricted to the movement of clergy, this raises the question of where the laity stood in the church and how they moved in and out. Part of the solution to this question lies with how we interpret use of the *bema*. Allowing evidence concerning the U-shaped *bema* is that it is distinctive to the *prothesis* liturgy and that it was used during the Service of the Veil. At the moment in the liturgy the clergy would raise the east *prothesis* on

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... of the west (Hassus, 1966, p. 16) along the western coast. The identification of

well have served this purpose. If this is the case, there would not expect a door at the end of the south arm, but an entrance to the side that one into that arm of the church from the porch. This would indicate that one gender occupied the west arm, another the south arm. There is nothing to suggest that an entrance existed in the north arm. All that can be said is that, like the south arm, at the threshold to the central chamber, an inscription in the mosaic paving faces the central chamber. (Figs 7, 8), suggesting that it was anticipated that anyone standing in that arm would be facing the central chamber. The position of the mosaic inscription in the west arm may also be indicative of anticipated movement. Rather than facing the central chamber, it faces away from it towards the western entrance/exit (figs 8, 38). Unlike the other two inscriptions it is located in the centre of the floor. It may be that this is indicative of professional movement from the church via the west entrance.¹⁷ The surviving archaeological evidence is too tenuous to support a definitive conclusion.

In sum up, then, from the beginning the assumption that the Church of St Babylas functioned solely as a 'martyrium' has dominated the interpretation of the building's liturgical organization. When it is recognized that the church was from its beginning used liturgically in a more complex way, interpretation of its liturgical planning alters significantly. Interpretation also changes when the church is viewed not in isolation but within the context of north-west Syrian liturgical practice. Within this setting it becomes clear that the U-shaped *berma* requires an east-facing sanctuary, that the rooms on the side of the east arm were thus not porticoes, but chambers with a probable liturgical purpose, and that the entries to the church were gender-specific and, in being situated at the west and south-west of the building, conformed to north-west Syrian practice elsewhere. It is unlikely thus that there were external doors at other points in the building that were accessible to the laity. The presence of a chancel barrier solely across the entrance from the central chamber to the east arm of the church, a threshold marked uniquely by crosses on the mosaic floor, is also consistent with this interpretation. The position of the baptistery suite in the north-east corner and the orientation of concentrated activity in the courtyard and rooms to the south-east with

terns between the projecting baptistery suite and the sanctuary. The answer is where the baptistery suite is located. In the case of the Church of St Babylas, the baptistery suite was formed by enclosing the north-east angle of the building. In the same way that a portal was set into the wall of the existing sanctuary in Seleucia Pieria, a door must have been created in the wall of the existing church. Lassus thought that he found slight evidence of this in the east wall of the north arm. No evidence survives to indicate whether entry was possible via room 8, but the orientation of the inscription in room 3 (the *pistikon*) implies movement from that chamber into room 2 (the baptistery) rather than the other way around. The identification by inscription of room 3 as a *pistikon*, a term otherwise unattested, suggests that the room may have been used at the very least for the confession of faith that preceded the actual rite of baptism.¹⁹² The baptistery suites in both the Church of St Babylas and the church in the lower city at Seleucia Pieria have an additional room (figs. 8, 28, 80, 91), which may have been used by the catechumens for disrobing before baptism or for some other purpose. In the case of the church at Seleucia, this was created by walling off the space between the apse of the sanctuary and the apse containing the font. In the suite at the Church of St Babylas it is a rectangular room behind the font, into which the curvature of the font intrudes. This room may have been added after the construction of rooms 2, 3 and 8 and is itself further subdivided in two rooms of unequal size (9 and 10). Room 10 has a drain for the evacuation of waste water. The water from the font evacuated to the outside through a drain beneath the floor of room 9. The presence of both a *pistikon* and two rooms behind the font in addition to the chamber in which the font is situated raises interesting questions about how the suite was used, which unfortunately we cannot answer at present.

Before concluding our discussion of the liturgical organization of the church at Seleucia Pieria, it is important to note the addition of two enclosed rectangular rooms during the second phase of construction. Also accessible from another part of the church complex (fig. 80) at the time that the latter baptistery suite was added, during the north wall of the sanctuary of the church a portal was set into the side of the sanctuary to provide access. In the case of the Church of St Babylas, the baptistery suite was formed by enclosing the north-east angle of the building. In the same way that a portal was set into the wall of the existing sanctuary in Seleucia Pieria, a door must have been created in the wall of the existing church. Lassus thought that he found slight evidence of this in the east wall of the north arm. No evidence survives to indicate whether entry was possible via room 8, but the orientation of the inscription in room 3 (the *pistikon*) implies movement from that chamber into room 2 (the baptistery) rather than the other way around. The identification by inscription of room 3 as a *pistikon*, a term otherwise unattested, suggests that the room may have been used at the very least for the confession of faith that preceded the actual rite of baptism.¹⁹² The baptistery suites in both the Church of St Babylas and the church in the lower city at Seleucia Pieria have an additional room (figs. 8, 28, 80, 91), which may have been used by the catechumens for disrobing before baptism or for some other purpose. In the case of the church at Seleucia, this was created by walling off the space between the apse of the sanctuary and the apse containing the font. In the suite at the Church of St Babylas it is a rectangular room behind the font, into which the curvature of the font intrudes. This room may have been added after the construction of rooms 2, 3 and 8 and is itself further subdivided in two rooms of unequal size (9 and 10). Room 10 has a drain for the evacuation of waste water. The water from the font evacuated to the outside through a drain beneath the floor of room 9. The presence of both a *pistikon* and two rooms behind the font in addition to the chamber in which the font is situated raises interesting questions about how the suite was used, which unfortunately we cannot answer at present.

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¹⁹² See pp. 159–60.

¹⁹³ *Revue de l'archéologie*, pp. 242–

¹⁹⁴ The church at Seleucia Pieria (fig. 80).

¹⁹⁵ Other arrangements for the baptistery suite are found in the late Roman church at Antioch (fig. 80).

¹⁹⁶ The baptistery suite at Seleucia Pieria (fig. 80).

¹⁹⁷ The baptistery suite at Seleucia Pieria (fig. 80).

¹⁹⁸ The baptistery suite at Seleucia Pieria (fig. 80).

¹⁹⁹ The baptistery suite at Seleucia Pieria (fig. 80).

²⁰⁰ The baptistery suite at Seleucia Pieria (fig. 80).

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late fourth century some mechanism for laity and clergy to wash their hands before entering a church was a general requirement. In *De poenitentia* he refers to basins filled with water in front of the doors of the church (λουτήρες ὕδατος ἐν ἑκτῇ τῶν πυλῶν) for the washing of hands. In another homily he overruled a dictate that fountains (κρήναι) be situated in the atria of churches, so that those who are about to pray can first wash their hands clean.²⁰⁸ In a homily of equally uncertain provenance John Chrysostom refers to the lay practice of kissing the threshold/door (τὰ πρόθυρα) on entering the church in which he is preaching. Some, he says, bow their heads to do so; others touch it with their hand and then bring their hand to their mouth.²⁰⁹ It may be that for some individuals hand-washing and touching the lintel and then their lips were seen as linked and formed a set of rituals performed automatically on entry.

Lighting was another necessity, especially during Lent when services were held in the late afternoon towards dusk, or when a particular occasion called for a night-long vigil.²¹⁰ In the course of one Lenten homily John Chrysostom refers to the distraction caused by the lighting of the church's lamps, which contain wicks moistened with olive oil.²¹¹ In another homily of possible Antiochene provenance he indicates that either the church in which he is preaching or local churches in general typically have silver chains connected to the lamps.²¹² In leading up to that comment he also criticizes the gold chalices on the altar, the altar cloth with unweaved gold, the silver cladding on the altar,²¹³ the golden

208 PG 49, 294.

209 It is uncertain whether the phraseology in this passage is a reference to all churches in general.

210 John Chrys., *In diem Habentis condonem postquam quiescit*, PG 49, 112, 113. In *Joh. hom.* 74/73 (PG 49, 140, 141) Chrysostom refers to the practice of washing one's hands before praying, entering a church, and receiving the Eucharist, but this was achieved.

211 PG 49, 112, 113.

212 PG 49, 112, 113.

213 PG 49, 112, 113.

214 PG 49, 112, 113.

215 PG 49, 112, 113.

columns and the expense of decorating the floor, the walls and the ceiling. In the possibly Antiochene homily he refers to a lamp-stand (*lampsada*) in the church, the primary purpose of which is not the provision of light but the performance of rituals, such as the chrismation specifically for healing. From these passages it is clear that a number of rituals were regularly performed in the church, and that the lighting of the lamps indicates that non-liturgical tasks might also be performed that in fact disrupted the performance of the liturgy.

In terms of impermanent furnishings, the ciborium passage in which John Chrysostom refers to the lamp-stand with oil for chrismation he also refers to a box or chest (*kistion*) placed in the church for the collection of alms. Collection boxes (*vaçopulakia*) also existed in the churches of Antioch in both the late 400s and the 530s and were used on the occasion of collecting donations from the city's inhabitants for the ransom of captives held by the Saracens. John Chrysostom also indicates that a curtain of some kind hid the altar during the Liturgy of the Eucharist, and that these were raised once the uninitiated had been dismissed and the eucharistic liturgy was in progress. Van de Paeverd believes that this obscured the entire sanctuary rather than being hung from a ciborium canopy over the altar thus obscuring the altar alone.²²⁰ In the 580s however such curtains clearly did hide only the altar. Evagrius informs us that the curtain surrounding the altar in the Church of the Theotokos caught fire one night when the emperor Maurice was offering

prayer. Six decades earlier Severus, writing on the existence of a ciborium in a church that contained the relic of the cross, the icon of the crucifixion, and other chad columns that support a cupola. At the time he is preaching the cupola is bare, unsightly and lacking in form, the chad is yet picked out only with iron rods that require an overlay of silver. Situated above the altar, it appears to have been part of the design of the church, which may indicate that its construction or renovation was recent.²²¹ That silver and gold doves (fig. 133) hung over the altar and baptismal fonts in the churches of Antioch in the period preceding 512 is indicated by the charge brought against Severus at the Synod of Constantinople in 536 that he removed these from the churches within his patriarchate.²²² The capacity to suspend a dove over the altar may indicate that by 512 the presence of ciboria in the sanctuaries of churches in Antioch was normative.

The claim that in 540 the Persians looted one of the churches of Antioch of vast sums of gold and silver in addition to ornamental marble alludes to the possession by Syrian churches at this period of substantial numbers of liturgical vessels and objects in silver and silver-gilt.²²³ One particular hoard, associated with a Church of St Sergius at Kaper Karaon, situated in the vicinity of Antioch in the limestone massif, and dating from the sixth century, contains fifty-five liturgical objects and a piece of silver revetment.²²⁴ Among the items donated to the church, which collectively incorporate an estimated 82 pounds of silver,²²⁵ are crosses, chalices, patens, ewers, spoons, lampstands, fans, and a strainer.²²⁶ While the use of chalices, patens and ewers during the

²²⁰ John Chrysostom, *Homily 10*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible.

²²¹ Evagrius, *HE* 5.21 (Bidez and Perelman, p. 216 trans. Whaley, pp. 153-4).

²²² Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²²³ John Chrysostom, *Homily 10*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²²⁴ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²²⁵ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²²⁶ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²²⁷ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²²⁸ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²²⁹ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³⁰ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³¹ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³² Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³³ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³⁴ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³⁵ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³⁶ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³⁷ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³⁸ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³⁹ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²⁴⁰ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²⁴¹ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²⁴² Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²⁴³ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²⁴⁴ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²⁴⁵ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²²¹ Evagrius, *HE* 5.21 (Bidez and Perelman, p. 216 trans. Whaley, pp. 153-4).

²²² Marlia Mundell Mango, 'The Monastery of St. Sergius at Kaper Karaon and the Church of St. Sergius at Kaper Karaon', in *St. Sergius: A Study in Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Syria and Byzantium* (Washington, DC, 1987), pp. 1-10, and pp. 126-27, speculates that the church responded to the call of the silver as a ciborium in the mosaics at Antioch, which date to the late 4th or early 5th century, and which have an acanthus capital from the same period set in the mosaic.

²²³ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²²⁴ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²²⁵ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²²⁶ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²²⁷ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²²⁸ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²²⁹ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³⁰ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³¹ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³² Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³³ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³⁴ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³⁵ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³⁶ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³⁷ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³⁸ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²³⁹ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

²⁴⁰ Severus, *Letter 1*, trans. Sheth Sherman, Sergible, pp. 153-4.

eucharistic liturgy ²³⁴ self-explanatory Marlia Mundell Mango
 later that ²³⁵ spoon which ²³⁶ common among ecclesiastical treasures
 at the ²³⁷ were ²³⁸ were into the consecrated wine for
 the fans were used to keep insects off the
 the ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰⁰

PERSONNEL

inscription that very round ²³⁴ Church of St Babylas and in
 in the upper city at Seleucia Pieria mention a number of
 churches. In this section we discuss briefly
 some of the personnel who were associated with churches at Antioch and
 how they likely functioned.

Three inscriptions in the north-west ²³⁵ south arms of the Church
 of St Babylas all refer to the bishop Flavian the steward (οικονομος)
 Eusebius and the presbyter Dorcas. Two of the inscriptions tell us that
 Eusebius was also a presbyter. The last of the three inscriptions was set
 into the floor in 387 CE. In the 420s a further inscription was added.
 In this inscription we learn that the bishop at that time was Theodotus,
 we learn of a steward and presbyter named Athanasius and have
 described for us two additional roles: those of deacon and custodian/
 caretaker (οικονομος). The name of the individual who fills these last
 two roles is Akkiba. These inscriptions ²³⁶ be aligned with other
 information to help us to understand the ²³⁷ of St Flavian Eusebius and
 Dorcas and Theodotus. Athanasius ²³⁸ begin with the
 of ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶

by Severus in the latter part of his episcopate (516/18) ²⁴⁷ learn of
 presbyter ²⁴⁸ steward ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² 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roles within the liturgy are described by Severus in a homily delivered on the occasion of the fourth day of Lent, the consecration of the oil. Then he outlines a list of roles that includes chanters listed among the lecturers, who sing at the nocturnal office; deacons who wear splendid tunics as a sign of their high status; hosts whom they serve; and sub-deacons whose duty it is to light the church's lamps. The latter receive in return a portion of the daily offerings.¹²² In a letter Severus refers also to deaconesses who in cities such as Antioch perform the rite of baptism for women. In the same paragraph he makes it clear that deaconesses, like ordained men, play no liturgical role otherwise. It is presbyters and male deacons who perform the eucharistic liturgy.

MORE THAN A PLACE OF WORSHIP

Two of the churches excavated in the 1930s, the Church of St Babylas and the church in the tower city at Seleucia Pieria, show evidence of rooms added in a subsequent phase of construction whose purpose cannot readily be identified. In this section we attempt to answer one final question: What were those rooms most likely used for? What other activities, other than the strictly liturgical, were conducted at church complexes?

In this section on personnel we noted that at Antioch clergy, particularly deacons and presbyters, appear to have performed a number of duties in addition to their liturgical responsibilities. Some of these are commercial in nature, are more closely tied to the welfare ministries supported by a particular Christian community. In the second decade of the fourth century on two occasions Severus refers to the customary appeal for alms that is broadcast during Lent. The linen is for tenders of the poor, for lepers or the sick, for the poor offering from other sources. At the same time that men donate

are described

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122 (PO29).

the scarves hanging from their necks with which they wipe their nose and that women offer the linen handkerchiefs that they carry in their hand.¹²³ At another he suggests that men donate a piece of their clothing.¹²⁴ In reality what is donated is often a dirty and torn-up piece of old used clothing.¹²⁵ Since each year the appeal is made publicly in church by the archdeacon,¹²⁶ it is likely that the collection site was the same church, the audience handing their donations over to members of the clergy as they attended Lenten services. If this is the case, then at least one room at the church in question must have been used during Lent for the storage of the donated linen.¹²⁷ Similarly in June 513, when on the festival of Leontius the crowd covered with food, jewellery and clothing the cart bearing the relics to the martyrion in Daphne for a stationary synaxis, the clergy will have required space in which to store the donations prior to sale or distribution. Either this took place at the martyrion in Daphne or the clergy brought the donations back into Antioch on the same cart used to convey the relics and stored them in a place used regularly to stockpile such donations. While there is a temptation automatically to assign liturgical purposes to rooms found on either side of the sanctuary, labelling them as *diakonikon* (where the sacred vessels are stored, where clergy robe, etc.) and *prothesis* (where the elements for the eucharist are prepared) or as side chapels, judgement should be reserved, as Decoedures points out that in Syria prior to the mid-seventh century such rooms could have multiple functions.¹²⁸ Substantial space will have been required for the storage of the offerings. This is especially the case when we consider that, as these homilies of Severus suggest, it was as often as not likely to consist of bulky goods as of coin.

Another incident earlier in the history of Antioch may point to the use of ancillary rooms in this way. In 353 it appears that a severe famine occurred in Syria and Cilicia, which drove up the price of grain controls, and led to the death of a substantial portion of the

¹²³ Severus, *Homilies*, 11.145–11.147; Severus, *Homilies*, 122.100–101, p. 120.

¹²⁴ Severus, *Homilies*, 11.146.

¹²⁵ Severus, *Homilies*, 11.146.3.

¹²⁶ Severus, *Homilies*, 122.100.9–11, p. 120.

¹²⁷ Severus, *Homilies*, 11.146.3. The church in question is the church of St Babylas in Antioch, which was the site of the collection of the offerings for the Lenten appeal.

¹²⁸ Decoedures, *The Prothesis in the Early Christian Church*, p. 100.

¹²⁹ Severus, *Homilies*, 11.146.3. The church in question is the church of St Babylas in Antioch, which was the site of the collection of the offerings for the Lenten appeal.

¹³⁰ Severus, *Homilies*, 11.146.3. The church in question is the church of St Babylas in Antioch, which was the site of the collection of the offerings for the Lenten appeal.

¹³¹ Severus, *Homilies*, 11.146.3. The church in question is the church of St Babylas in Antioch, which was the site of the collection of the offerings for the Lenten appeal.

Hints of such activity are found in the homilies of John Chrysostom. Twice he indicates that the audience expected to have lunch in the pleasant surrounds of the martyrium.²⁶⁷ Since they most likely walked to the martyrium in procession,²⁷⁰ which may have made bringing food with them awkward, it is probable that vendors set up stalls around the martyrium to provide a more convenient source of food and sustenance on that practice. The festival of Philogony, which was held at Antioch on 20 December, gave rise in the late fourth century to a market day with vendors from the countryside plying wares as diverse as grain, produce, cattle, sheep, clothing and fabric furnishings.²⁷¹ Depending on where the church the festival was held in and where the market stalls were set up, some of the commercial activity may have spilled over onto the church premises themselves. In the early sixth century the presence in the Martyrium of St Dometius of votives in the form of engraved gold and silver sheets implies both the manufacture of these items and their sale.²⁷² However, since by the 520-40s other churches associated with healing existed at Antioch (the Church of John the Baptist, the Church of Sts Cosmas and Damian, the Martyrium of the Maccabees, perhaps also the Churches of Michael the Archangel), it is possible that the production of such votives was centralized and that it was only the sale of these items that took place on or near the church premises. The discovery of a tub and drain in the floor of room 13 and a pitched floor with another possible drainage mechanism in room 14 in the south-east angle of the Church of St Babylas suggests that other as yet unidentified activities took place that produced a quantity of waste water. Unfortunately the state of the excavated building makes it difficult to determine whether that activity was religious, domestic or commercial. The addition of rooms, the extensive plumbing and drainage, and the development of a courtyard in the area bracketed by the east and south arms indicate that this became a bustling centre of activity.

None of the evidence is, when we draw all of these observations together, the use of churches to store offerings, as can be seen in the distribution, as residences, and the gravitation towards them of the increasing numbers of pilgrims. At least does it become clear that churches in Antioch were more than worship centres. Such buildings, as in other cities of antiquity, must always be viewed within their social and religious contexts and as meeting religious and social life needs.²⁷³

POSTSCRIPT

This book is not an end to research on the Christian worship sites of Syrian Antioch, but a beginning. Comprehensive as we have tried to be, there will in the coming years be new archaeological evidence that will emerge and, we hope, additional literary and documentary sources. As we write, the archaeological team led by Hatice Pamir and Gunnar Brands is assembling a new map of the city based on a systematic topographical and geodetic survey completed in 2008 that corrects numerous errors perpetuated by the map in Downey's once magisterial and now much dated *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*. It is a quirk of fate that our two projects have been proceeding in parallel and that, due to the proprietary nature of their work, we have been unable to incorporate their scientific findings.

One must nonetheless start somewhere. What we hope to have achieved here is a sound and useful work of reference and a spur to renewed discussion about one aspect of Antioch's rich social and religious history. The simple act of bringing together into the one publication all of the relevant photographs relating to the excavated churches, of reviewing the field notes of the excavators, as well as assembling all of the written sources that we could locate, has already shown the value of such an exercise. The most significant results are a substantially different interpretation of the use and layout of the Church of St Babylas, the raising of questions concerning the assumed continuity of the Greek Church following the earthquake of 526 CE, and the redating to the sixth century of the church in the upper city at Seleucia Pieria. In addition, by examining the role of each building, where possible, over a long span of time, we have been able to demonstrate how the liturgical practices of the important detail (for example, the intimate association of the Church of St Babylas with Babylas or introduction of a separate altar for the Church of Cassian in the fourth century, or the arrangement of the Elders' body according to a certain pattern of the city). We can also show the ability of the city to adapt to the changing needs of the community between the period of the Christianization of the city and the earthquake of 526 CE, and the city's adaptation to the earthquake reconstruction of Antioch and the city's adaptation to the Islamic rule. This is not to imply, however, that we have reached the end of the road. It is our hope, however, that this book will contribute to the study of Antioch, its history, and its place in the world.

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Macedonian Martyrs
Macedonian 1992

ription 1990

GLOSSARY

anathema (sing./anathemata (pl.))

anathema (sing.) a person or thing that is
 anathema (pl.) a person or thing that is
 anathema (pl.) a person or thing that is
 anathema (pl.) a person or thing that is

anastasis

anastasis a building or structure that is
 anastasis a building or structure that is
 anastasis a building or structure that is
 anastasis a building or structure that is

adventus

ambo

ambulatory

anathema (sing./anathemata (pl.))

anathema (sing.) a person or thing that is
 anathema (pl.) a person or thing that is
 anathema (pl.) a person or thing that is
 anathema (pl.) a person or thing that is

anti-Chalcedonian

Apollinarianism

architrave

apse

baptistry

basilica

bas-relief

bema

cardo (maximus)

cathedra

Chalcedonian

chamfron-relief

cha

cha

cha

cha

cha

superiority of the church, the process incorporating Syria and the East.

synaxis (sing.) / synaxis (pl.)
a room, usually divided into several parts, where clergy are seated, where they may be stored, and where they may be used for other purposes.

synaxis (sing.) / synaxis (pl.)
a building's facade, lit. a row of doors; sometimes interpreted as a Byzantine architecture as a hall.

synaxis (sing.) / synaxis (pl.)
modern term designating a group which occupied a middle position between Nicene and Arian Christianity.
arena used for spectacles = where wild animals are hunted.

orientem (MMC)
military commander for the East
generation of a martyr or martyrs
porch at western end of a church
main section of a church
adherents of the Council of Nicaea (325 C.E.)
chief of steward

orientem (MMC)
a decoration composed of pieces of uneven size
prayer figure standing with outstretched arms
custodian or caretaker of a church
of uncertain meaning a room within a baptistery
suite adjacent to the room containing the font
forma entry to a church or other building incorporating a column

orientem (MMC)
a late antiquity title head of civil and judicial administration of the eastern empire
commander of the police and judiciary

priests
are prepared
four leaflets of
parts

branch-
natural forms
the

synaxis (sing.) / synaxis (pl.)
a mobile liturgy led by the bishop and his clergy in different churches or shrines according to the main liturgy of the city for that day.
base supporting a row of columns
liturgical service.

synaxis (sing.) / synaxis (pl.)
letter sent to other bishops on the accession of a bishop's consecration outlining his doctrinal position.

synaxis (sing.) / synaxis (pl.)
tiered semi-circular benches for seating clergy, often with an episcopal cathedra (see above) in the middle of the top tier.

tabula ansata
rectangular surface with projections like handles containing an inscription; simply a decoration.

temenos
lesserae
tetraconch
tetrapylon
sacred precinct
small blocks used in mosaics
see quatrefoil
an edifice consisting of four arches around a square often domed

trichinium (sing.) / trichinia (pl.)
a suite or suites attached to a church, often for the reception of pilgrims

xenodocheion (sing.) / xenodocheia (pl.)
a building for the reception of strangers

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2.

Theological Disputes

$$= 11 \frac{1}{2} \text{ ft} \times 1 \frac{1}{2} \text{ ft} = 17 \frac{1}{2} \text{ ft}^2$$

Abstracts of Reports

$$\frac{2H-11}{2} + 10 \log \left[\frac{1}{2} (1.31 - 2.2^{0.5}) 2^{0.11} - 5 \right]$$
[illegible]

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Real Disputes

Martyrdoms / Rehears

Other events

TABLE 1
FACTIONAL POSSESSION/USE OF CHURCHES

		Church of the Holy Spirit (Constantinople)
	homotian	same building
	multiple factions	same building
	Nicene 3	private home/school
	Nicene 2	Palace
	homotian	Constantinople Church
	Nicene 2	Palace
	Nicene 3	Great Church
	homotian	Great Church, Martyrium of Romanos
	Nicene 1 (Paulinians)	small church inside Antioch
	Nicene 2 (Meletians)	base of mountain over bank of river
414	Nicene 2	Great Church, Church of St. Euphrasius, Constantinople
	Nicene 1	at Romanesia, Palaia, Cometerion
		unknown, poss. continued use of previous church/es
	homotian	unknown (suburbs?)
114-51	Nicene 11 and 2	Constantinople Church
151-70	Chalcedonian	monastery of church/es
	anti-Chalcedonian	unknown
170-202	Chalcedonian	property of church/es, which Chalcedonian probably owned
	anti-Chalcedonian	overlaid by Chalcedonian church/es
202-45	anti-Chalcedonian	property of church/es, which Chalcedonian probably owned
		under patronage by Chalcedonian church/es
	both Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian	both Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian

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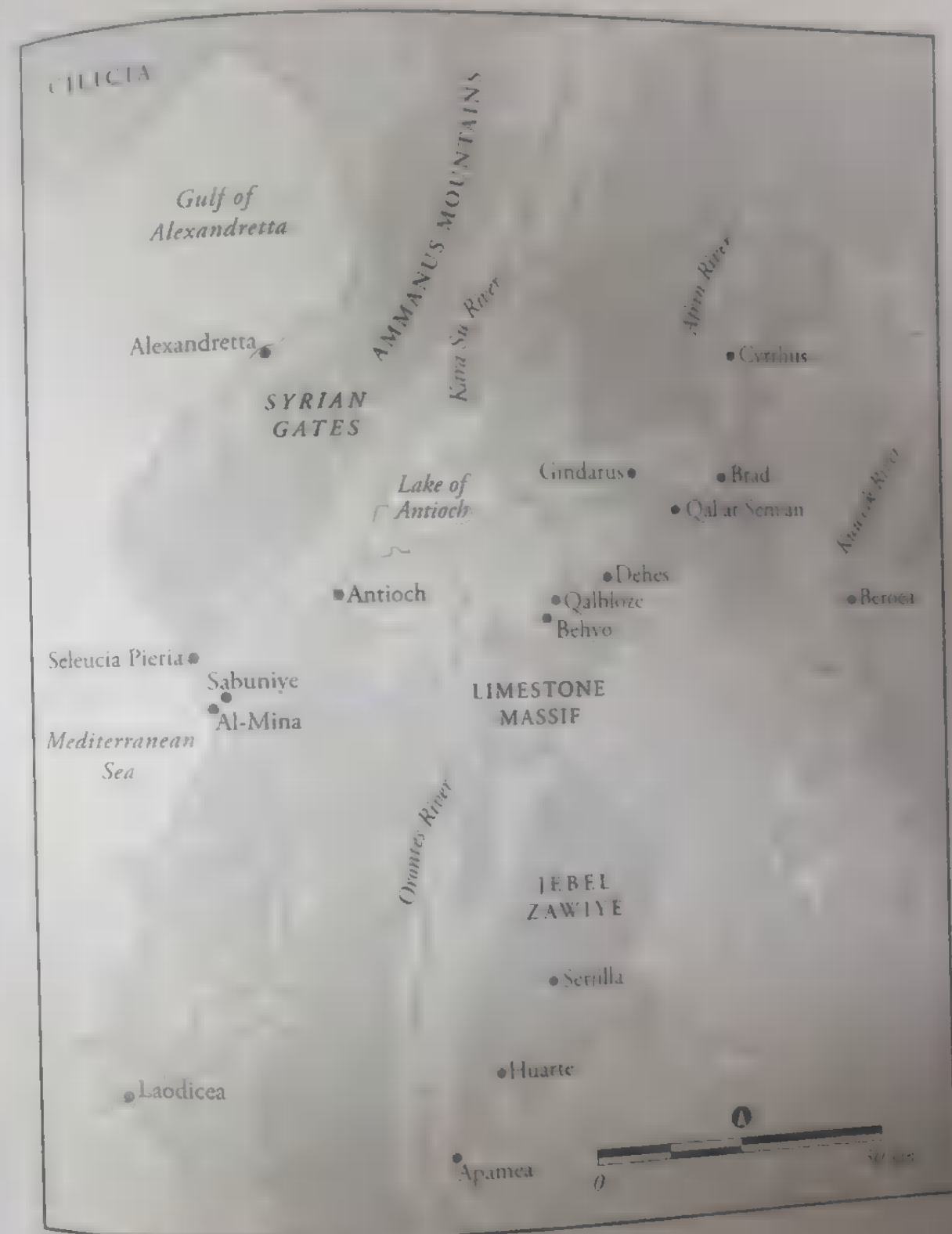


Fig. 1. Map of Amuq Valley and NW Syria

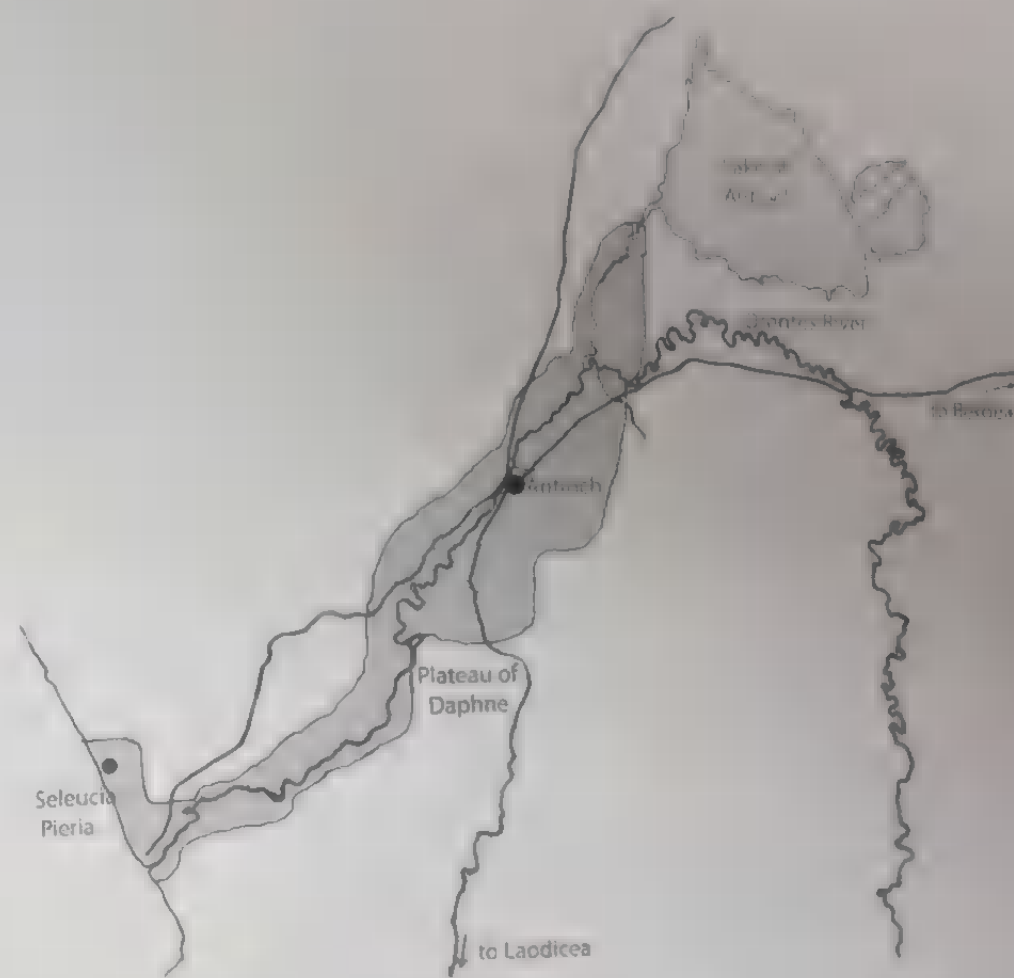
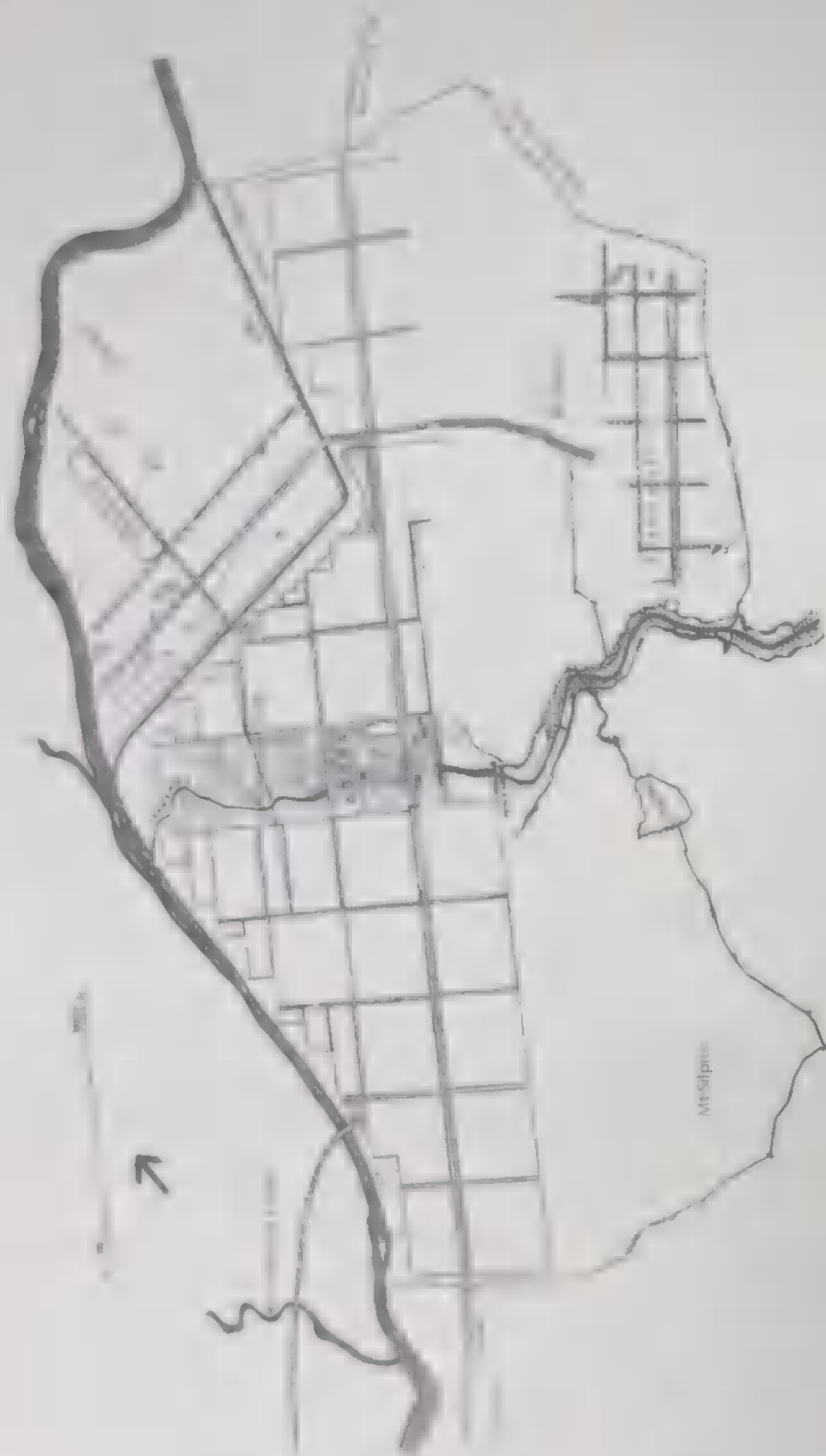


Fig. 3. Conceptual *territorium* of Antioch

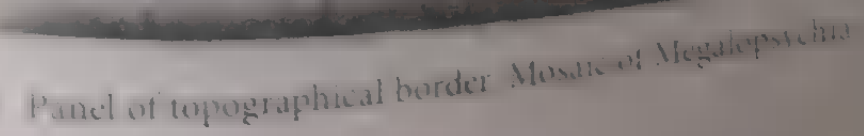




Fig. 7. Church at Qausiyeh
General view of the site looking towards modern Antioch

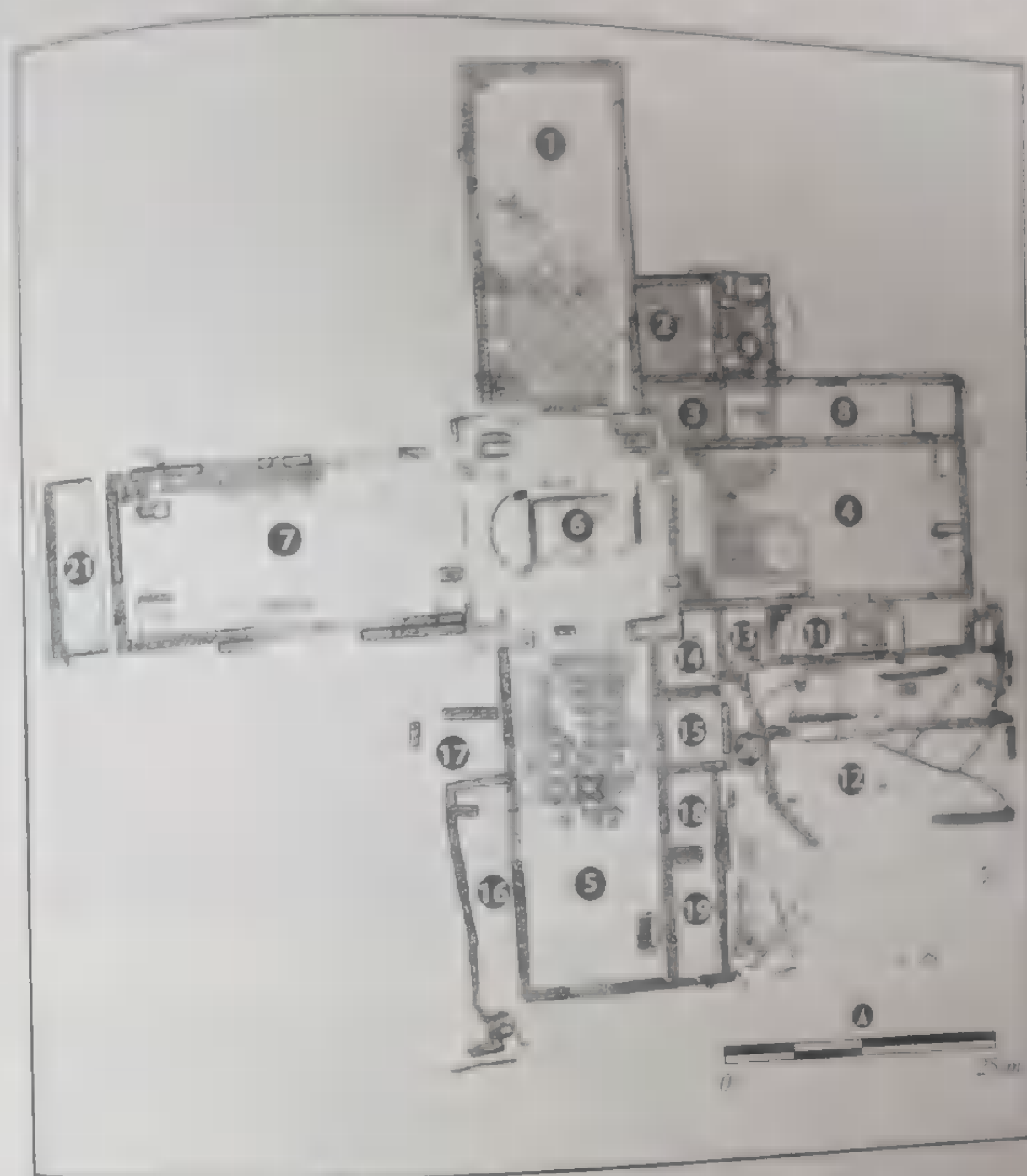
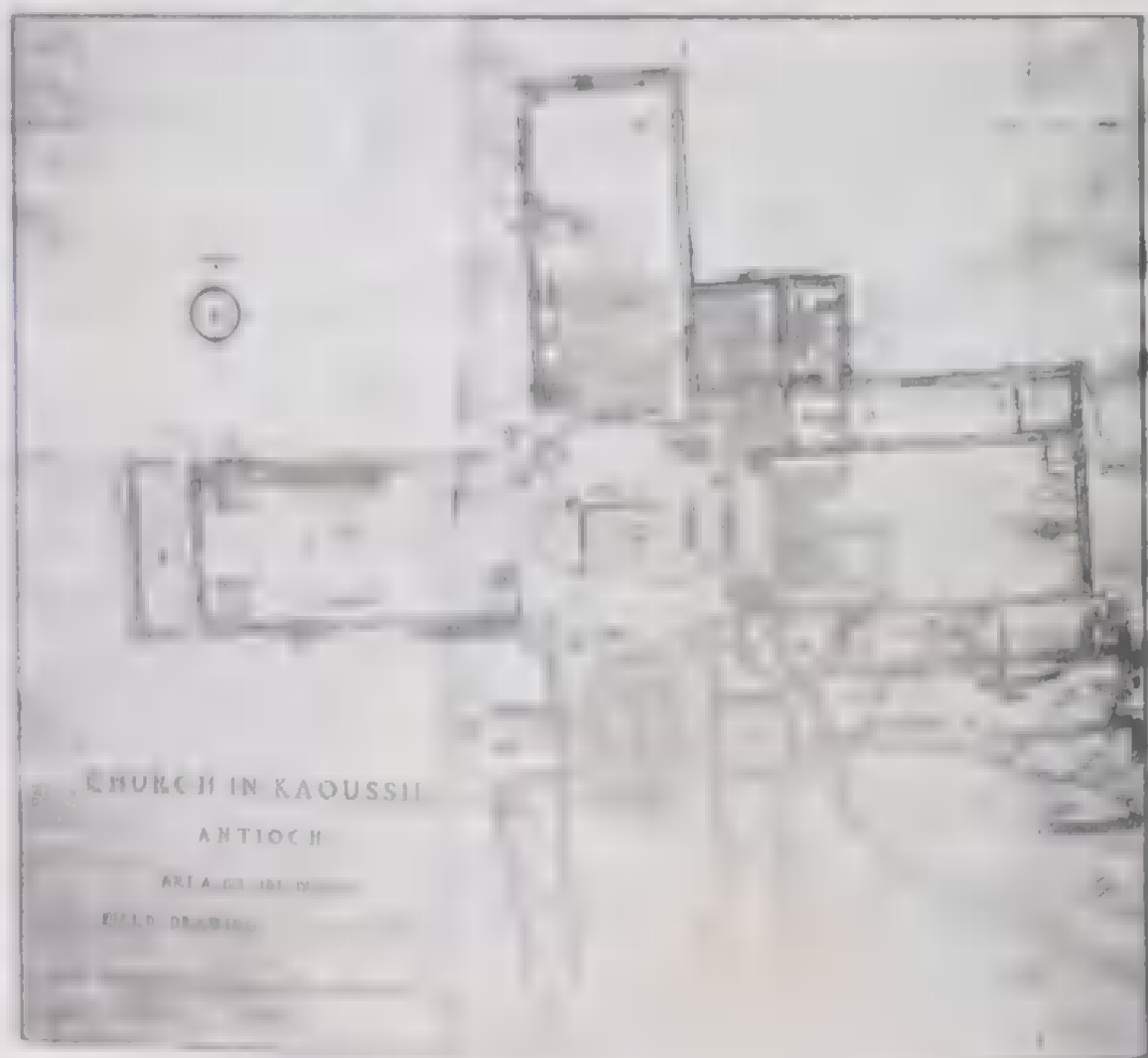


Fig. 9. Church at Qausiyeh. Distribution of rooms
Key: 1. North arm; 2-3. Baptistery suite; 4. East arm; 5. South arm;
6. Central chamber; 7. West arm; 8. Room bracketing east arm (north);
9-10. Baptistery suite; 11. Room bracketing east arm and courtyard (south);
12. Courtyard; 13-15. Rooms facing courtyard; 16. Portico (?) south arm
(to west); 17. Uncertain; 18-19. Rooms facing courtyard; 20. Room water tank;
21. Portico, west arm



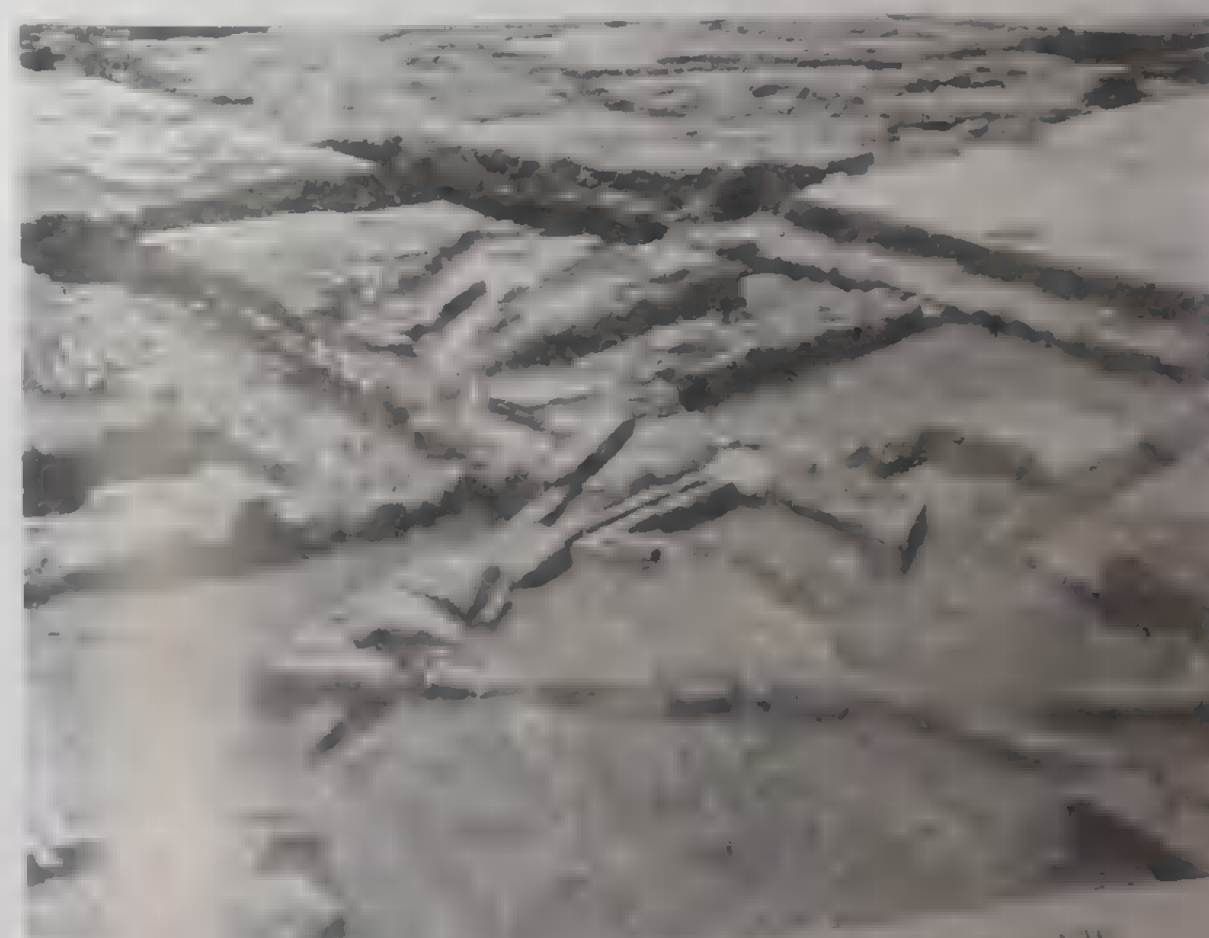
Fig. 10. Church at Qausiyeh. General view showing baptistery area. To south



istikon



Fig. 12. Church at Qausiyeh. View into rooms 13 & 14. To west



13. Church at Qausiyeh. View into rooms 13 & 14. To NW



Fig. 14. Church at Qausiyeh. View of room 8 from the pistikon. To east



Fig. 15. Church at Qausiyeh. View of room 16 with *opus sectile* floor. To north



Fig. 18. Church at Qausiyeh. View of the excavation. To NW. SE courtyard and rooms 14-15 and 18-19.



Fig. 18 (cont.)

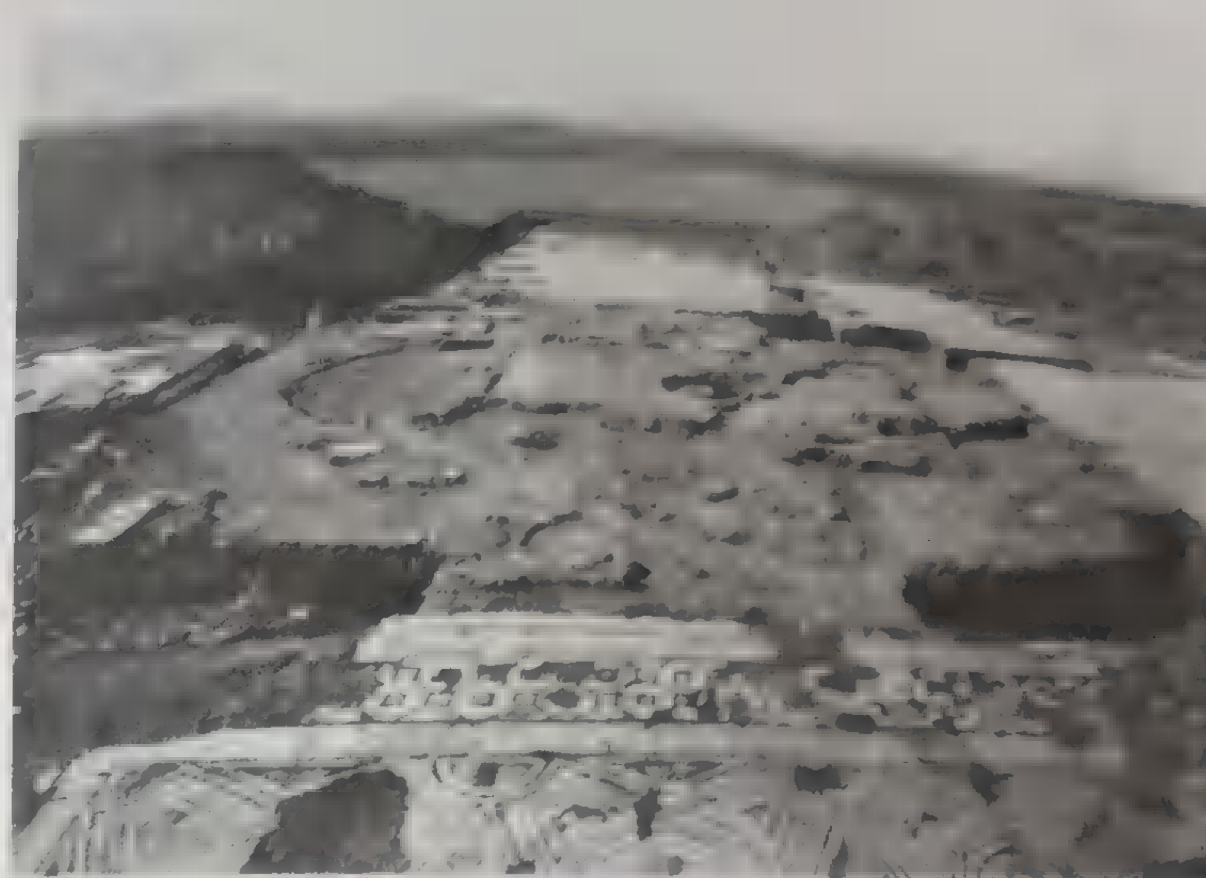


Fig. 19. Church at Qausiyeh. General view across room 6, the central room, with inscription 4 in foreground. To north.



Fig. 20. Church at Qausiyeh. View of room 6, with platform and apse. To west.



Fig. 21. Church at Quarech. View of photograph in NW corner of wall 6.



Fig. 22. Church at Quarech. View of photograph in NW corner of wall 6.

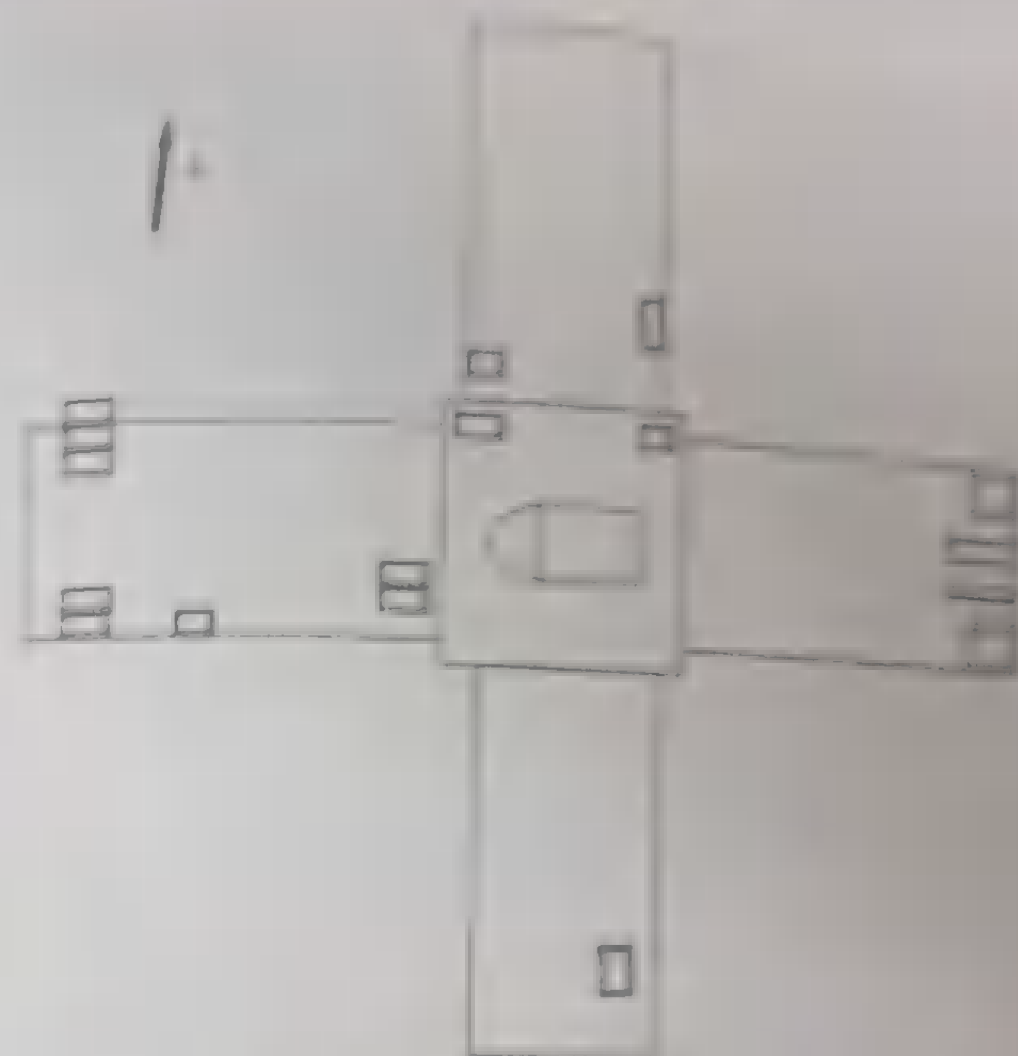


Fig. 23. Church at Quarech. Plan of the church.



Fig. 24. Church at Quarech. Detail of photograph in NW corner of wall 6.



Fig. 35 Church at Qausiveh. Tombs in west end of room 7



Fig. 36 Church at Qausiveh. View looking north



Fig. 37 Church at Qausiveh. General view along east end, looking south

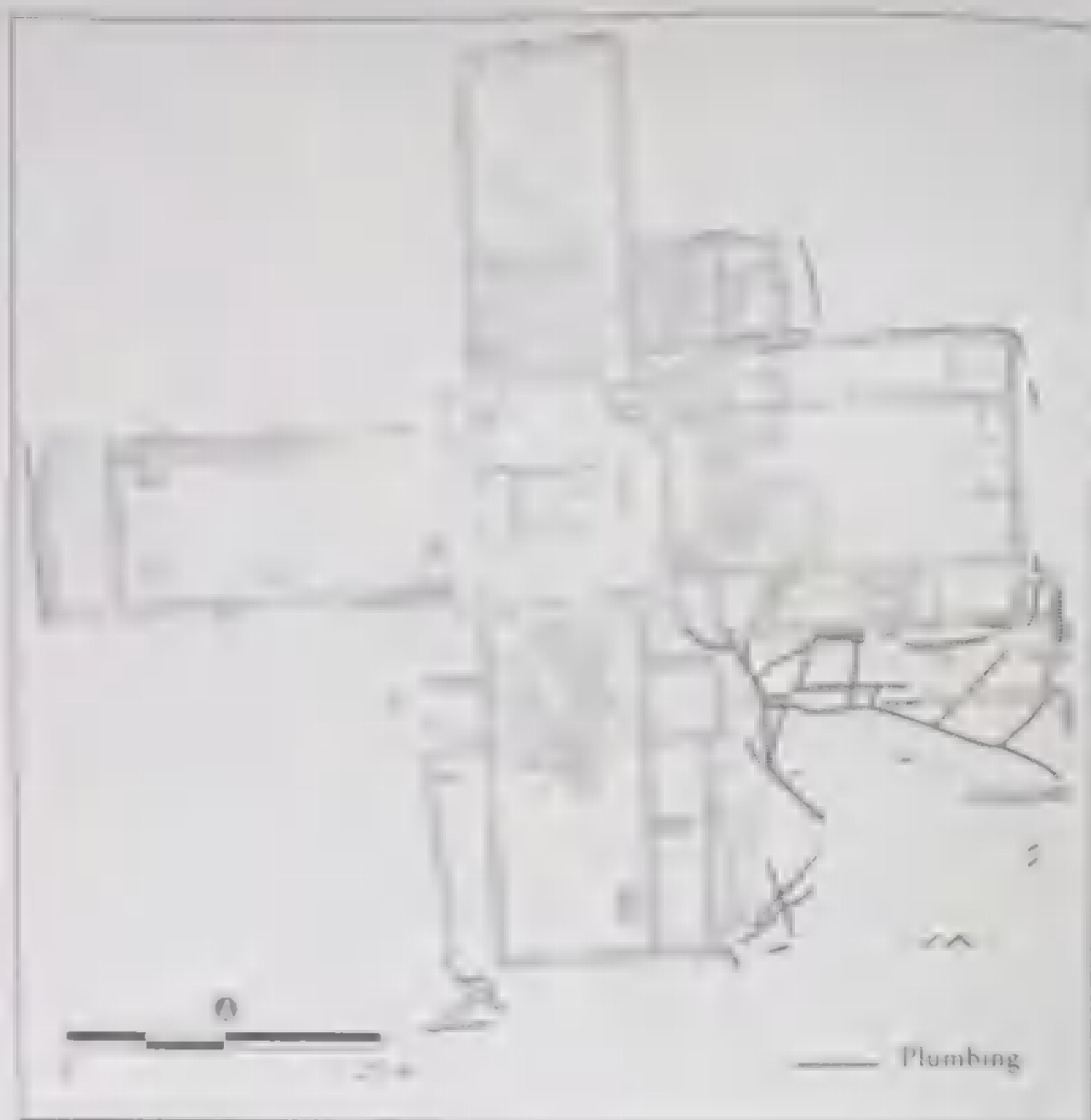


Fig. 28. Church at Qausiyeh. Distribution of plumbing



Fig. 29. Church at Qausiyeh. View into rooms 9 and 10, apse of the baptistery and dependencies. To east



Fig. 30. Church at Qausiyeh. General view from northwest. June 1977



Fig. 10. Qausiyeh. General view across additions in the south-east angle of the church. To SE



Fig. 11. Qausiyeh. Courtyard.



Fig. 12. Church at Qausiyeh. Phases of planning and construction.
Based on Lassus' field notes

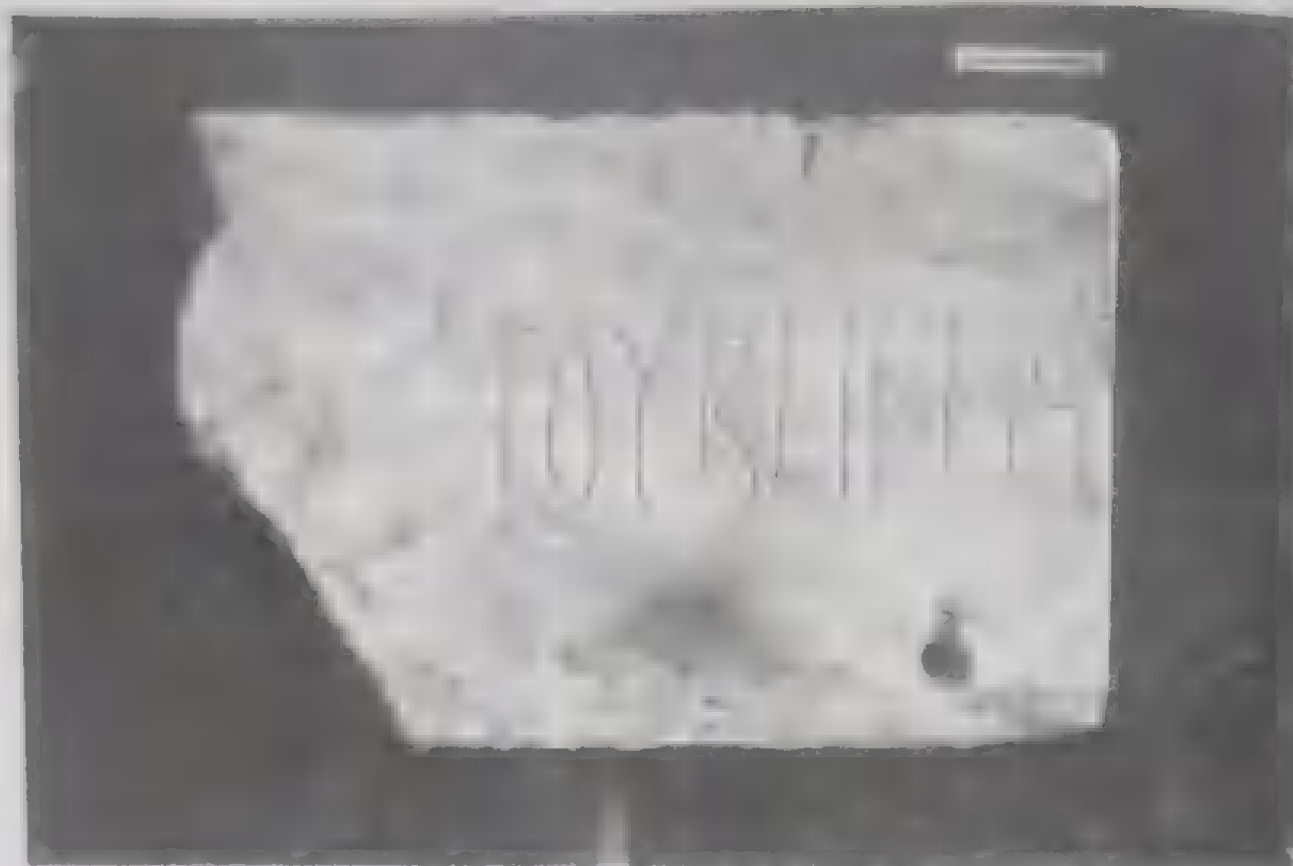


Fig. 34. Church at Qausiyeh. Marble slab with Greek inscription



Fig. 35. Church at Qausiyeh. View of the mosaic floor in room 4, the east arm. To west



Fig. 36. Church at Qausiyeh. View of the mosaic floor in room 4, the east arm. To west



Church at Qausiyeh. View of the mosaic floor in room 5, south arm, with inscription 4 in background. To north



Fig. 34. Dishes at Dausiyeh. Marble slab with Greek inscription



Fig. 35. Church at Qausiyeh. View of the mosaic floor in room 1, the west arm, with inscription 4 in background. To north



Fig. 36. Church at Qausiyeh. View of the mosaic floor in room 4, the east arm. To west



Fig. 37. Church at Qausiyeh. View of the mosaic floor in room 5, the west arm, with inscription 4 in background. To north



Fig. 39. Church at Qausiyeh. View of the mosaic floor of room 7, the west wall, with inscription 3 at center. To east



Fig. 40. Church at Qausiyeh. View of mosaic floor of room 7, the west wall, with inscription 3 at center. To east



Fig. 41. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of mosaic inscription 1. To east



Fig. 42. Church at Qausiyeh. View of mosaic inscription 2, sections 1 and 2 in room 1. To west

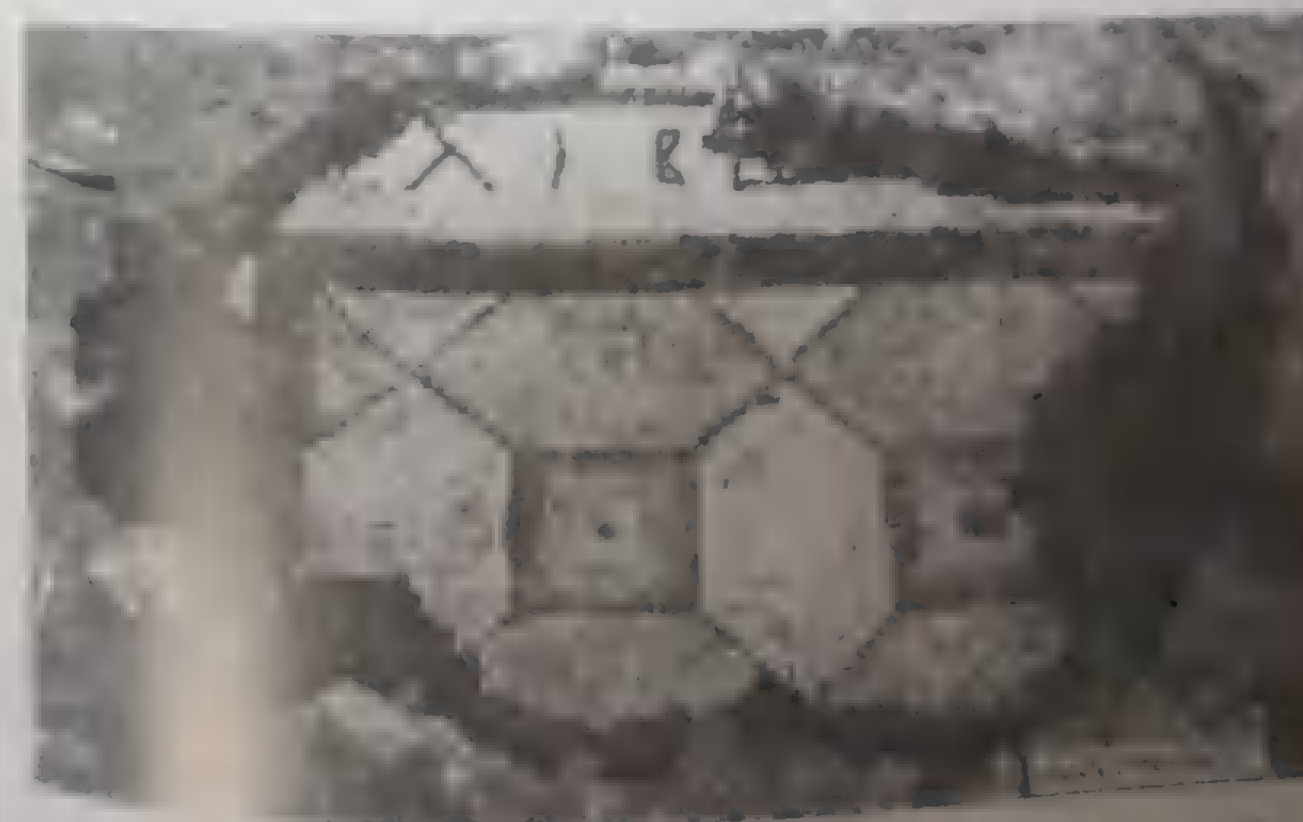


Fig. 43. Church at Qausiyeh. View of mosaic inscription 2, section 3 in room 1. To west

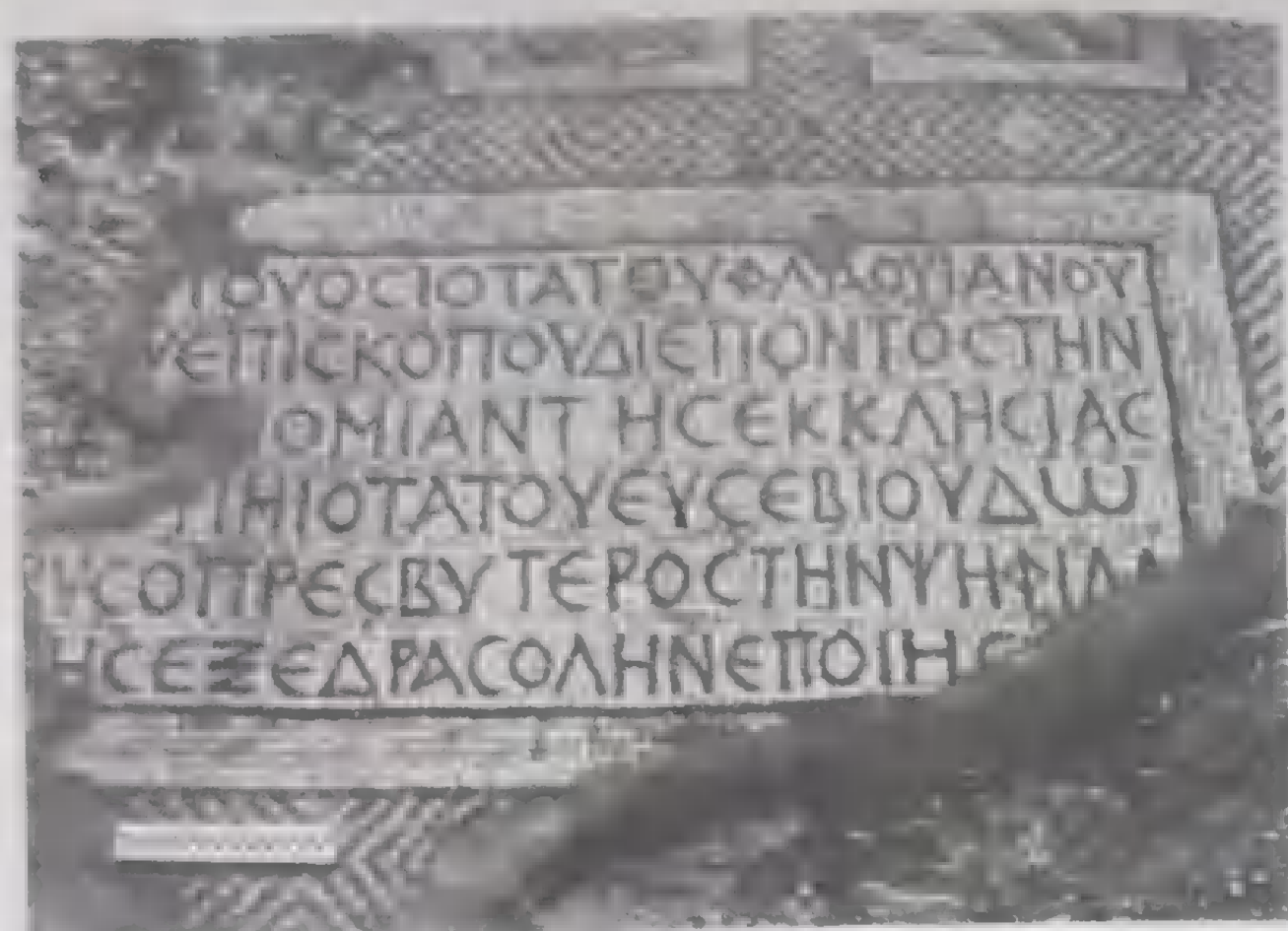


Fig. 43. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of mosaic inscription 3 in room 7.
To west

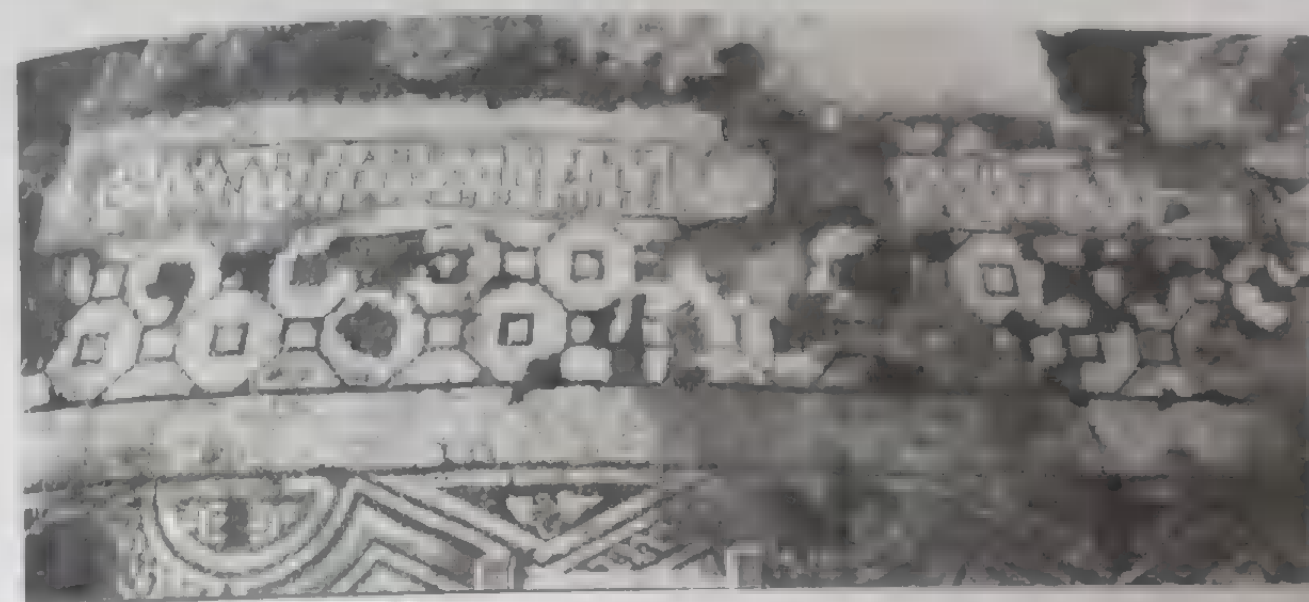


Fig. 44. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of left and right halves of mosaic inscription 4 in room 5



Fig. 45. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of mosaic inscription 5 in the *pistikon*.
To north



Fig. 46. Church at Qausiyeh. Part of Byzantine bronze cross.



Fig. 48. Church at Qausiyeh. General view of the excavation. To SE



Fig. 47. Church at Qausiyeh. General view of the excavation. To west



Fig. 49. Church at Qausiyeh. General view of the excavation. To NW



Fig. 51. Church at Qausiyeh. General view of the excavation. To SW



Fig. 51. Church at Qausiyeh. General view of the excavation. To SW



Fig. 52. Church at Qausiyeh. General view of the excavation. To south



Fig. 53. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of south wall of room 6. To west



Fig. 54. Church at Qausiyeh. South end of room 16 with Trench 6 in background. To west.



Fig. 55. Church at Qausiyeh. Interior of east nave.



Fig. 56. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of tomb outside west wall of room 1.

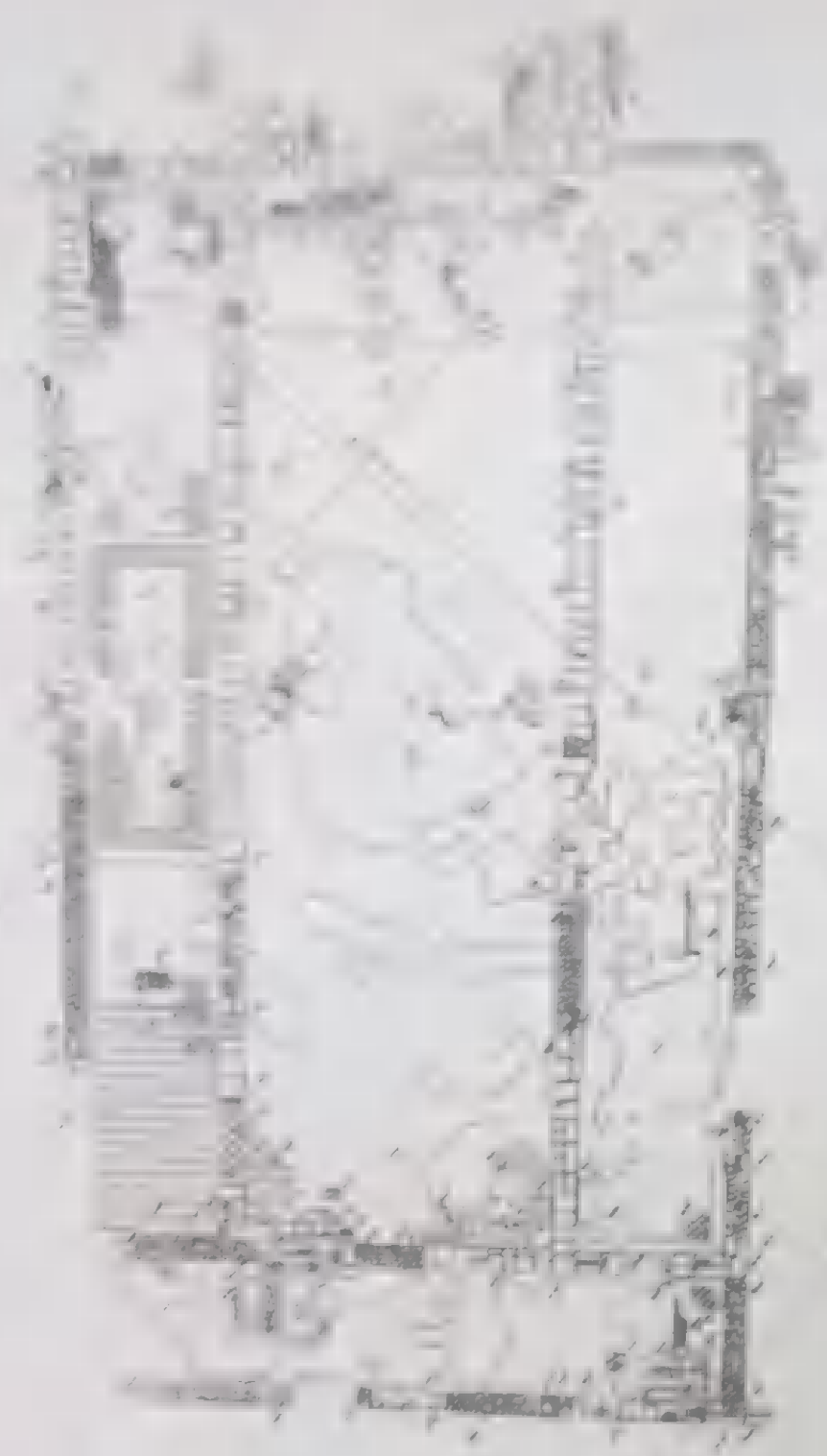


Fig. 59. Church at Machouka. Plan view showing foundations and walls.



Fig. 60. Church at Machouka. General view of excavated site.

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Church at Machouka. View of the south aisle



Church at Machouka. View of the south aisle



Fig. 63. Church at Machouka. View of the nave, looking from the apse



Fig. 64. Church at Machouka. View of the nave, looking from the apse



Church at Machouka. Detail of the steps to the front



Fig. 67. Church at Machouka. View from the north (the narthex)



Fig. 68. Church at Machouka. View across north end of church from the north aisle



South aisle



Church at Machouka. View of the apse and apse looking from the nave

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Fig. 70. Church at Machouka. View across north end of church



Fig. 72. Church at Machouka. View of the narthex, from south, showing single tomb



Detail of narthex



Fig. 73. Church at Machouka. Detail of well in the nave



Fig. 75. Church at Machouka. Detail of the north end of the nave and north aisle, showing mosaic floors



Fig. 77. Church at Machouka. Detail of the north end of the nave, showing mosaic floors



Fig. 76. Church at Machouka. Detail of mosaic in SW corner of nave, with the narthex in background



Fig. 78. Church at Machouka. Detail of the north end of the nave, showing marble pavement from a lower level

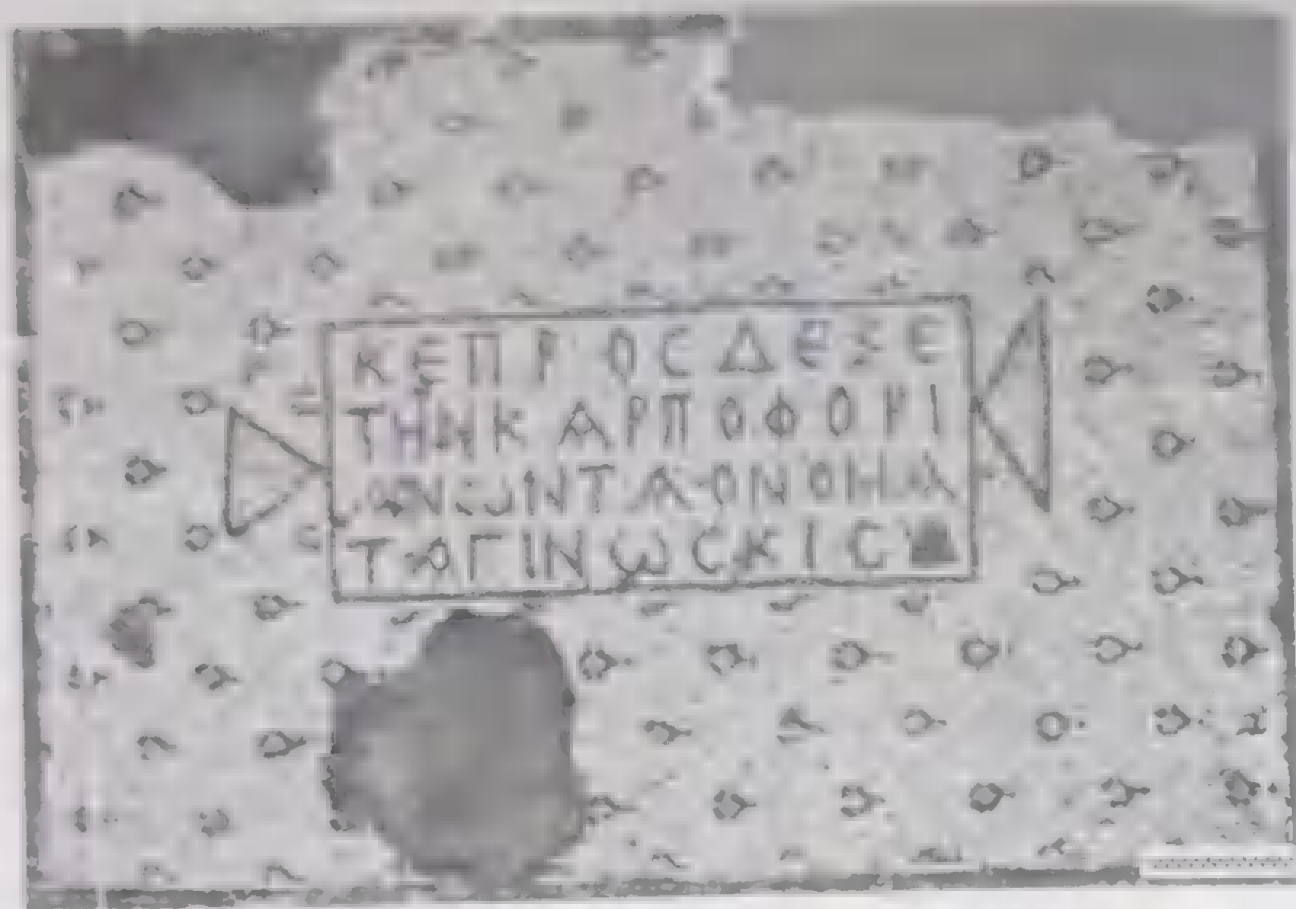


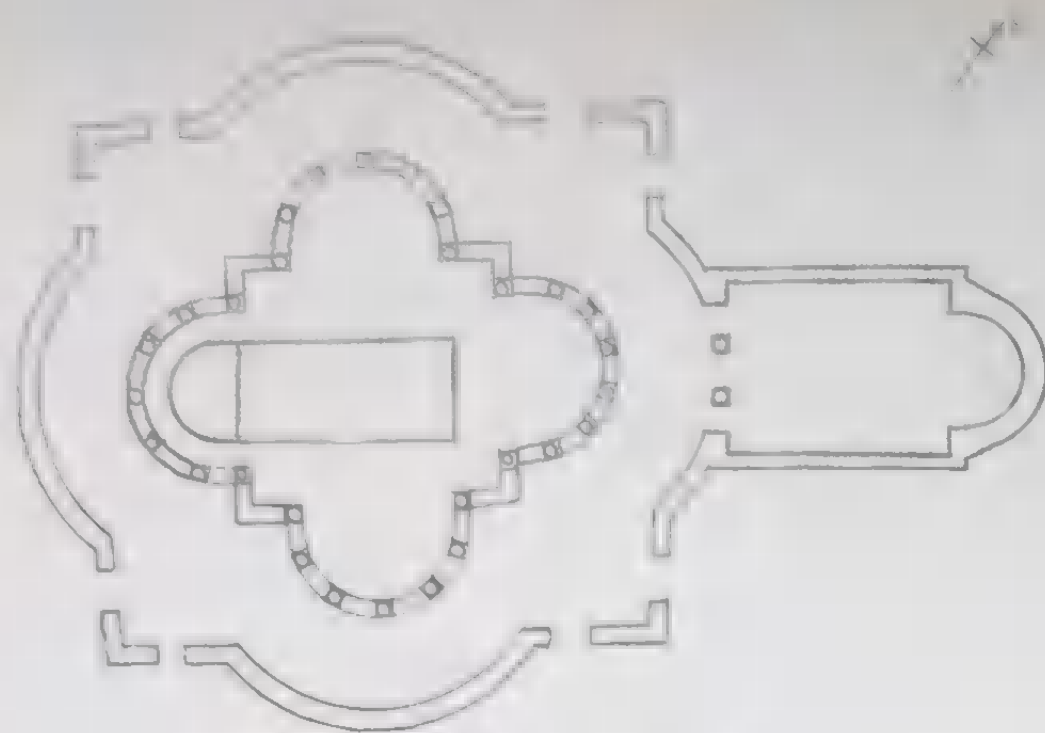
Fig. 18. Mosaic in the church. Mosaic depicting from the north aisle



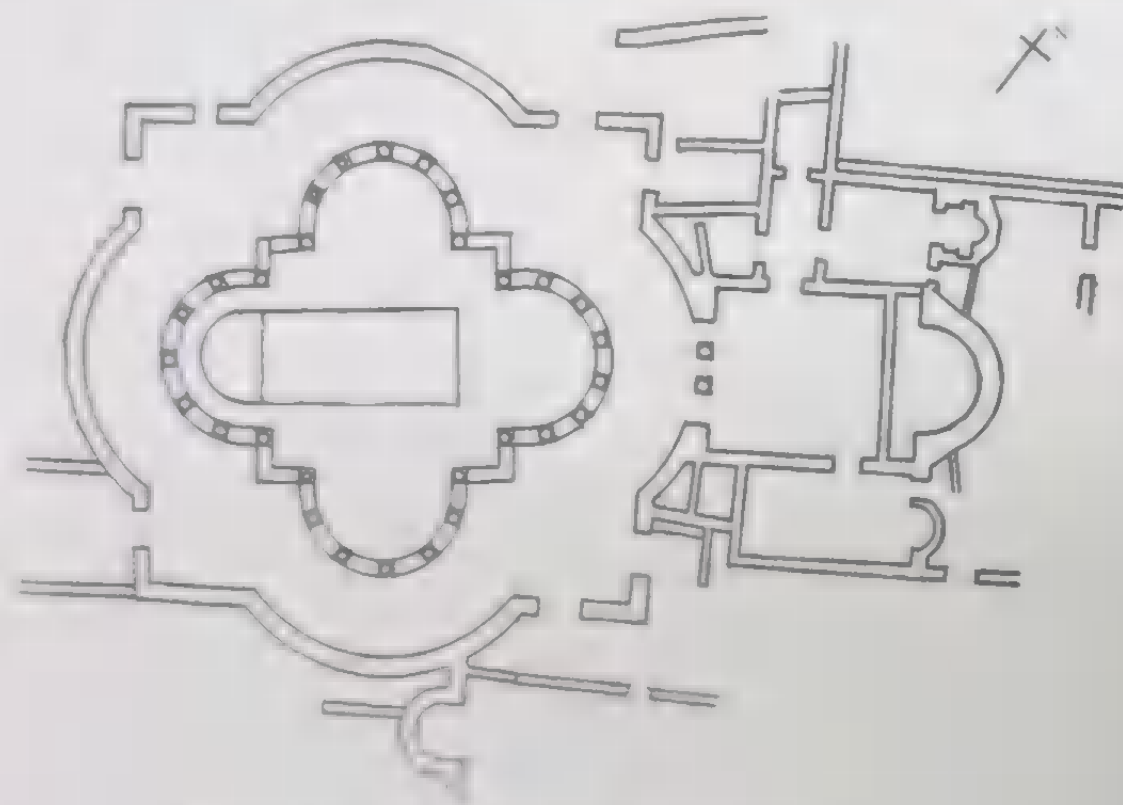
the upper city.



Fig. 19. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Field plan of church



Church at Seleucia Pieria, phase 1



Church at Seleucia Pieria, phase 2

Fig. 81. Church at Seleucia Pieria, phase 2



Fig. 82. Church in Seleucia Pieria. General view of the building, showing L-shaped piers and limestone paving



Fig. 83. Church in Seleucia Pieria. General view of east exedra colonnade



Fig. 85. Church at Seleucia Pieria. Architectural angle of the central quaterfoil

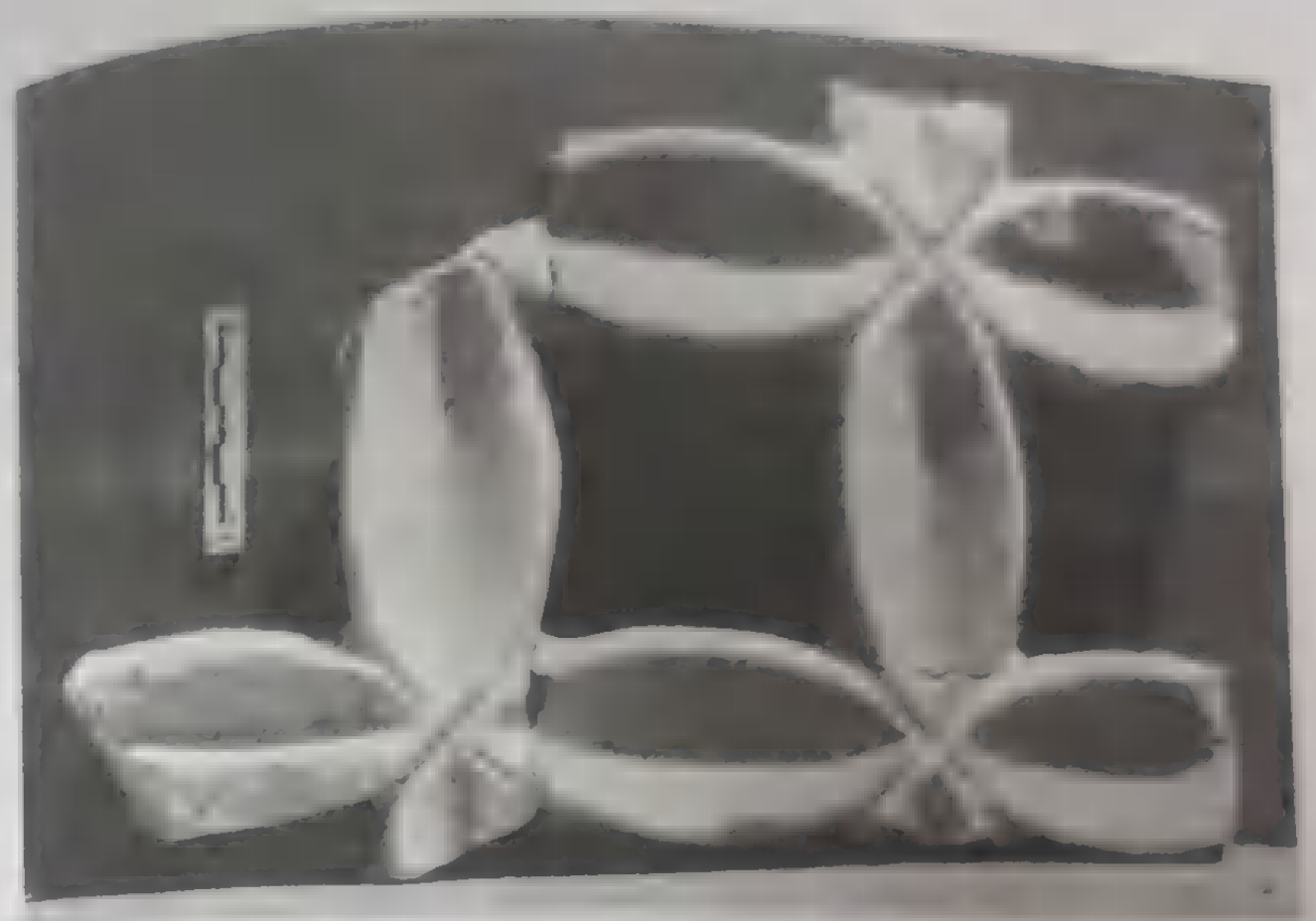


Fig. 86. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Carved marble window grill



eshold



Fig. 88. Church in Seleucia Pieria. NE corner of north side showing construction from limestone to rubble masonry



Fig. 89. Church in Seleucia Pieria. General view along the south side of the building towards the SE corner.



Fig. 89. Church in Seleucia Pieria. General view along the south side of the building towards the SE corner.



Fig. 90. Church in Seleucia Pieria. General view of eastern apse and its dependencies, from north property wall



Church in Seleucia Pieria. General view of baptistery and its dependencies, from east ambulatory



Fig. 88. Church of Seleucia Pieria. Detail of the baptistery.



Fig. 89. Church of Seleucia Pieria. Detail of the baptistery.



Fig. 94. Church of Seleucia Pieria. *Opus sectile* on south side of west apse. South side of choir at right.



Fig. 96. Aerial view of the site. Aerial view of the site.



Fig. 97. Close-up of the capital.



Fig. 97. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Windblown Corinthian capital.



Fig. 98. Church in Seleucia Pieria
 with relief of amphora and acanthus leaves



Fig. 99. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Two fragments of inscriptions



Fig. 100. Church in Seleucia Pieria. SE corner with remains of mosaic, floor
 and colonnade and marble border fragments



Fig. 101. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Complete marble frieze block, inner face



Fig. 103. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Frieze block with peacock

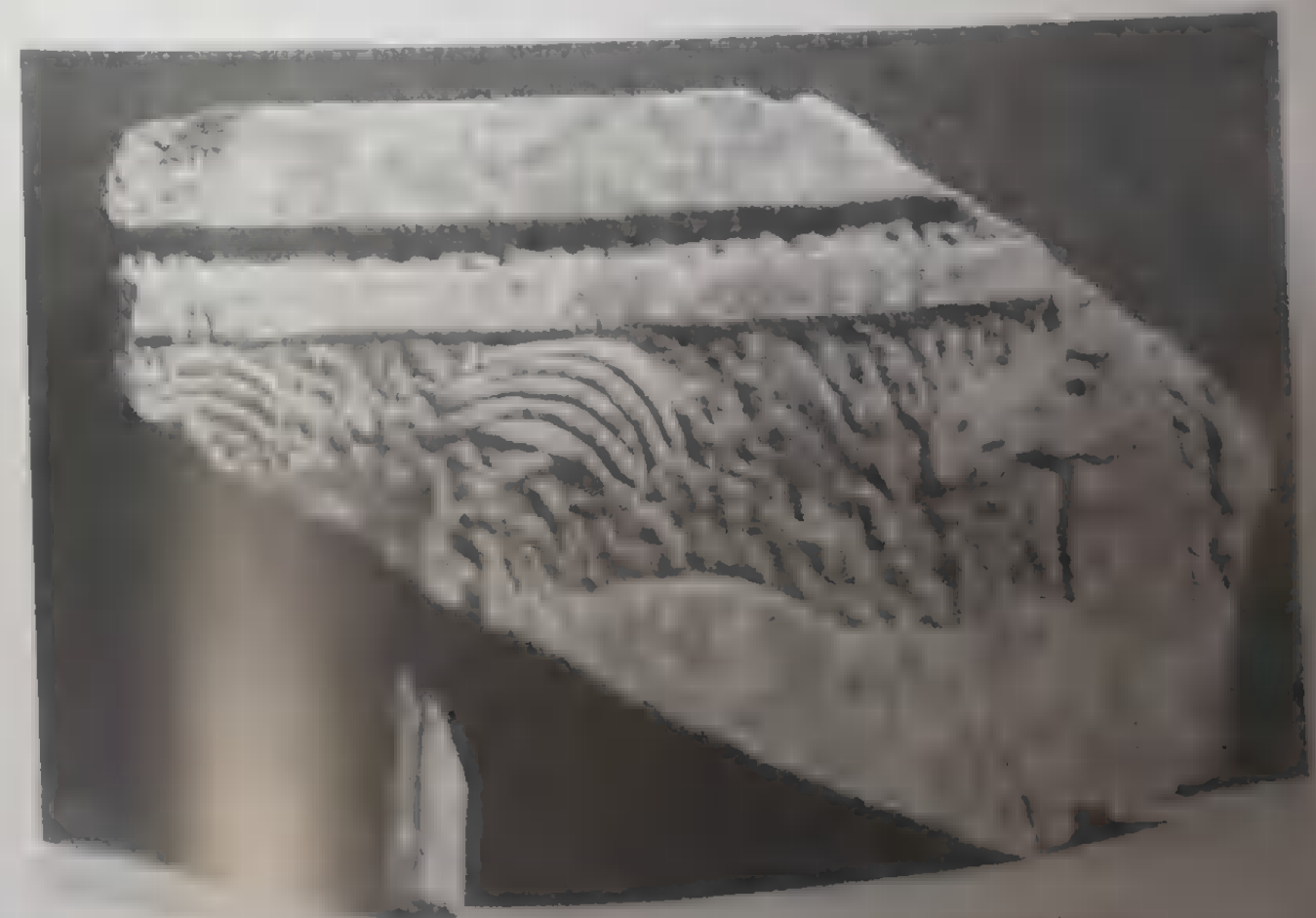


Fig. 104. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief with horse

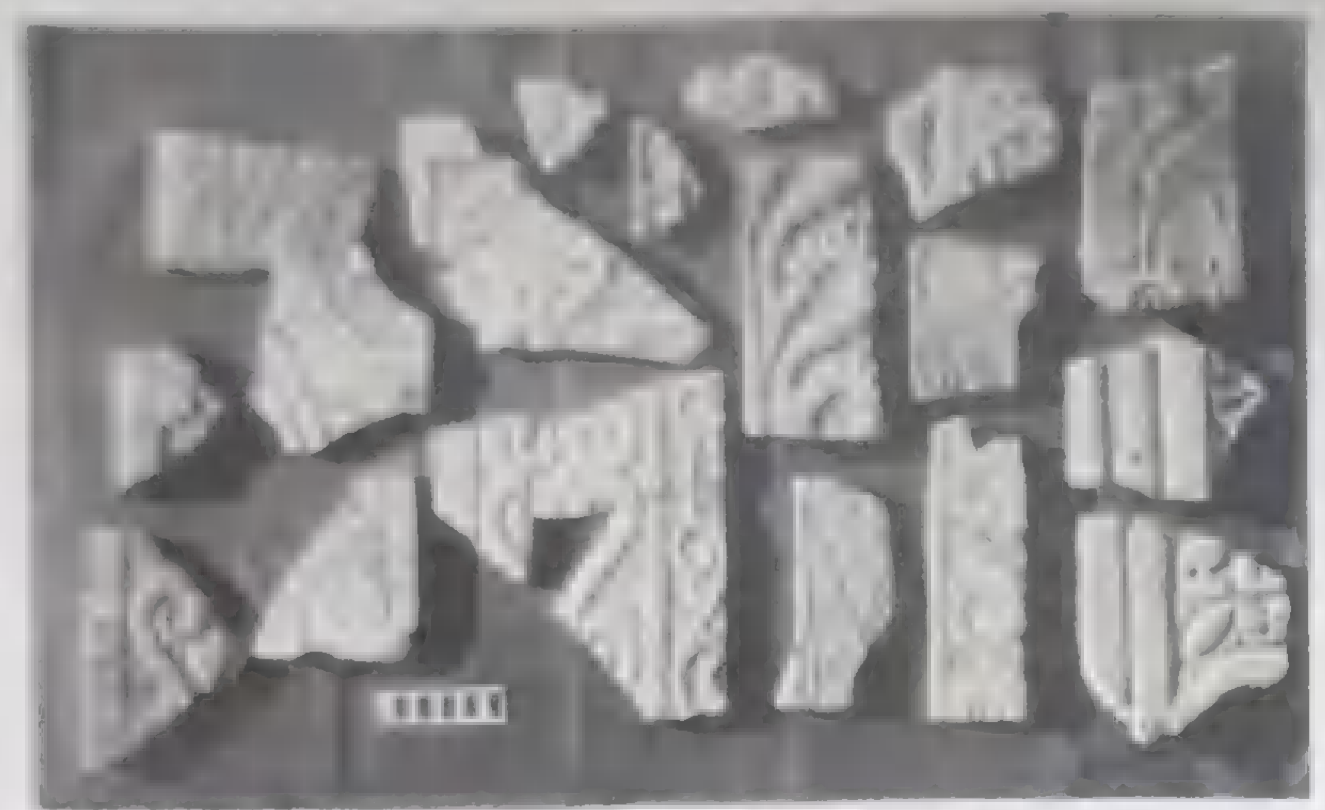


Fig. 106. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Unidentified relief fragments

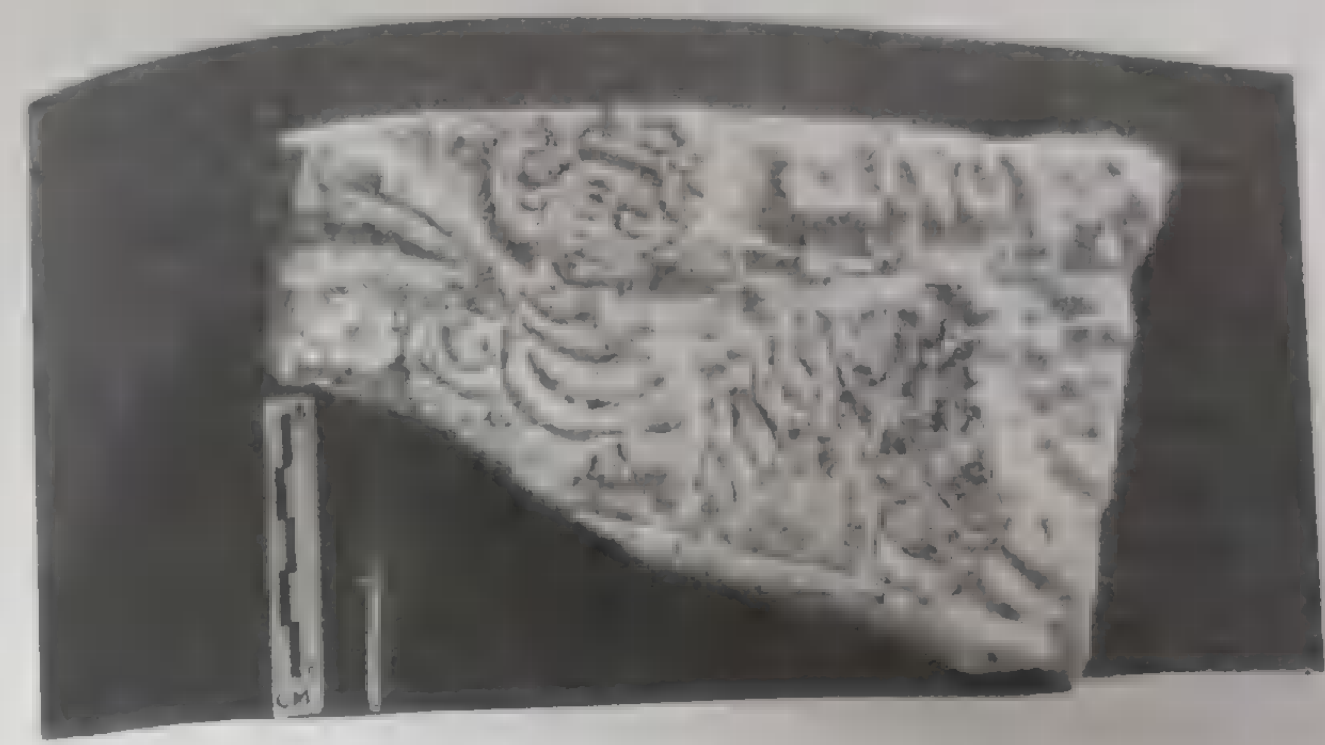


Fig. 107. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief with horse & rider and Greek inscription



Fig. 108. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief with figures (Peter?)



Fig. 109. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief with swimming boys



Fig. 10. Seated female figure
from the Phrygian relief.



Fig. 11. Standing female figure in Phrygian costume.
from the Phrygian relief.



Fig. 111. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
Based on plaster from the site.

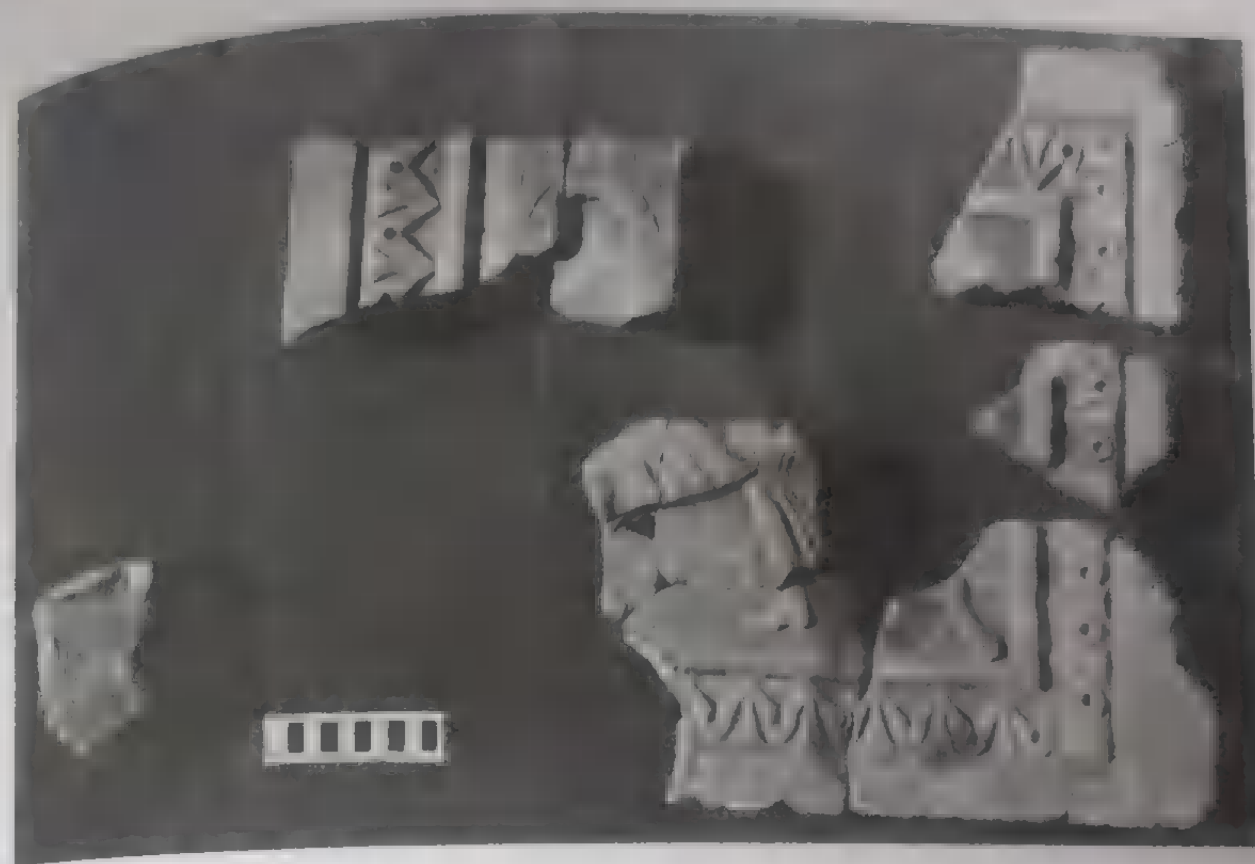


Fig. 112. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief fragment with body of an animal.
Relief with figure and animal in architectural setting



Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief with seashells

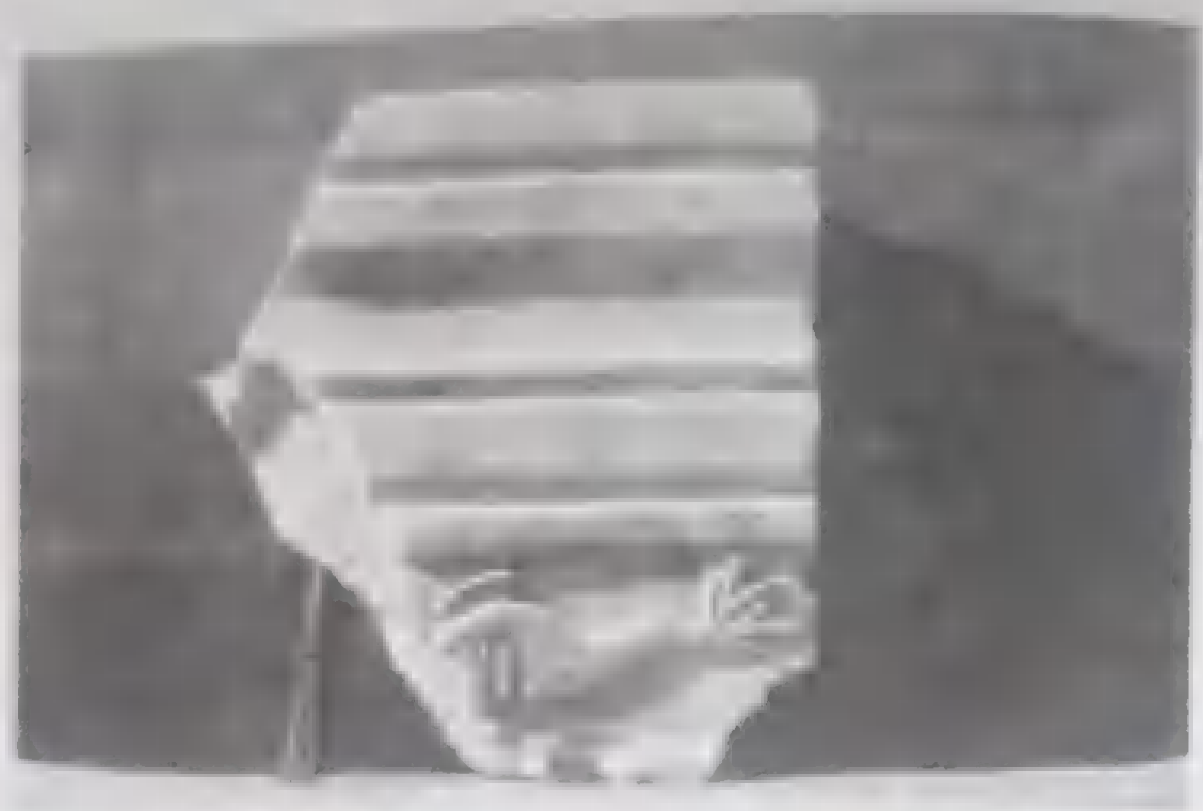


Fig. 115. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Fragment of carved marble relief



Fig. 116. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Fragment of carved marble relief with head of Christ



Fig. 117. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Fragment of carved marble relief



Fig. 118. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief with head of Christ



Fig. 119. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief fragment with head of angel

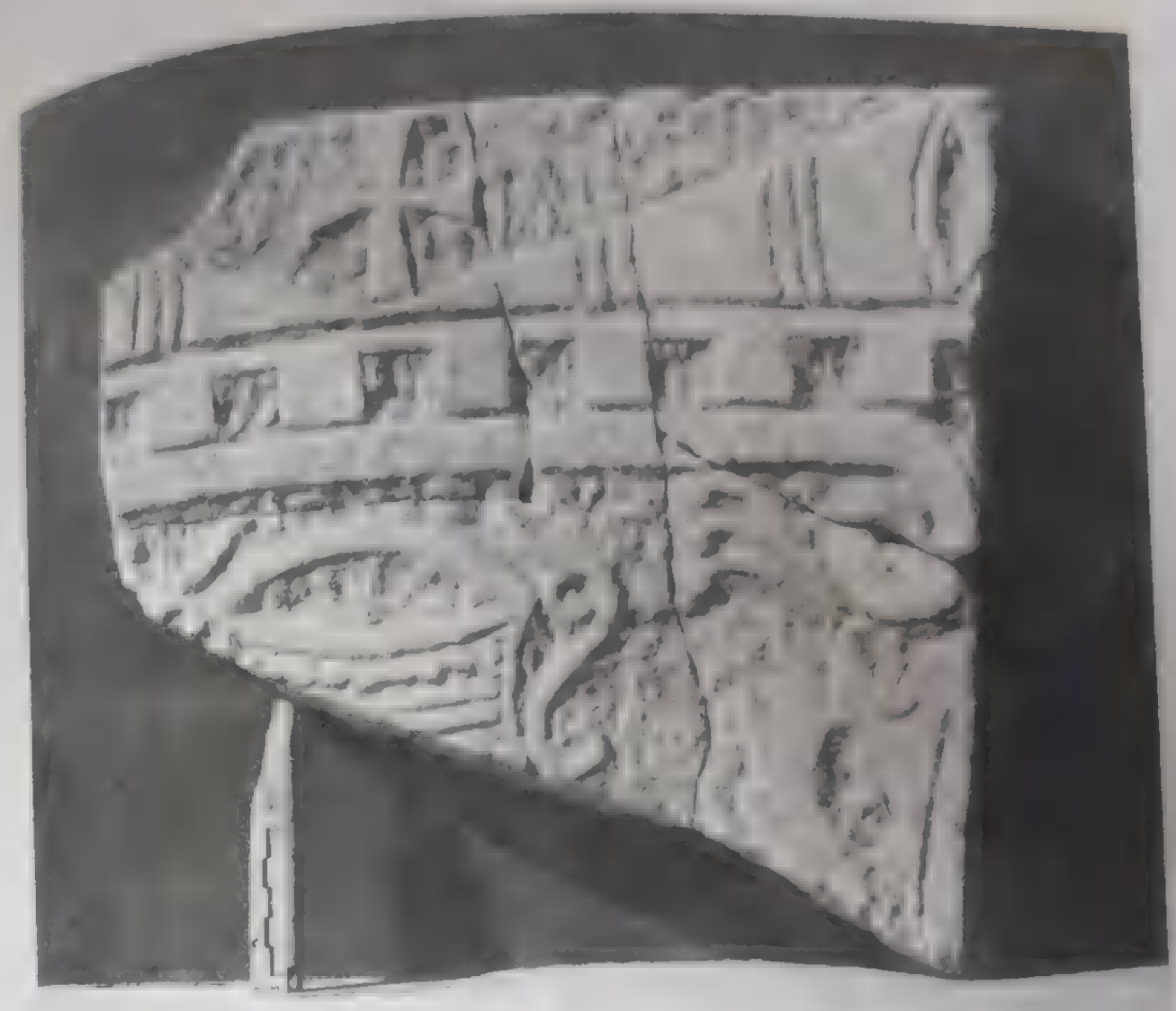


Fig. 120. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief with amphora cornucopia and cross



Fig. 121. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief with cross



Fig. 121. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
Marble revetment fragment.



Fig. 122. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
Marble revetment with cross. Dumbarton Oaks Collection



Church in Seleucia Pieria. Frieze block fragments.



Fig. 124. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
Relief with palmette ornament

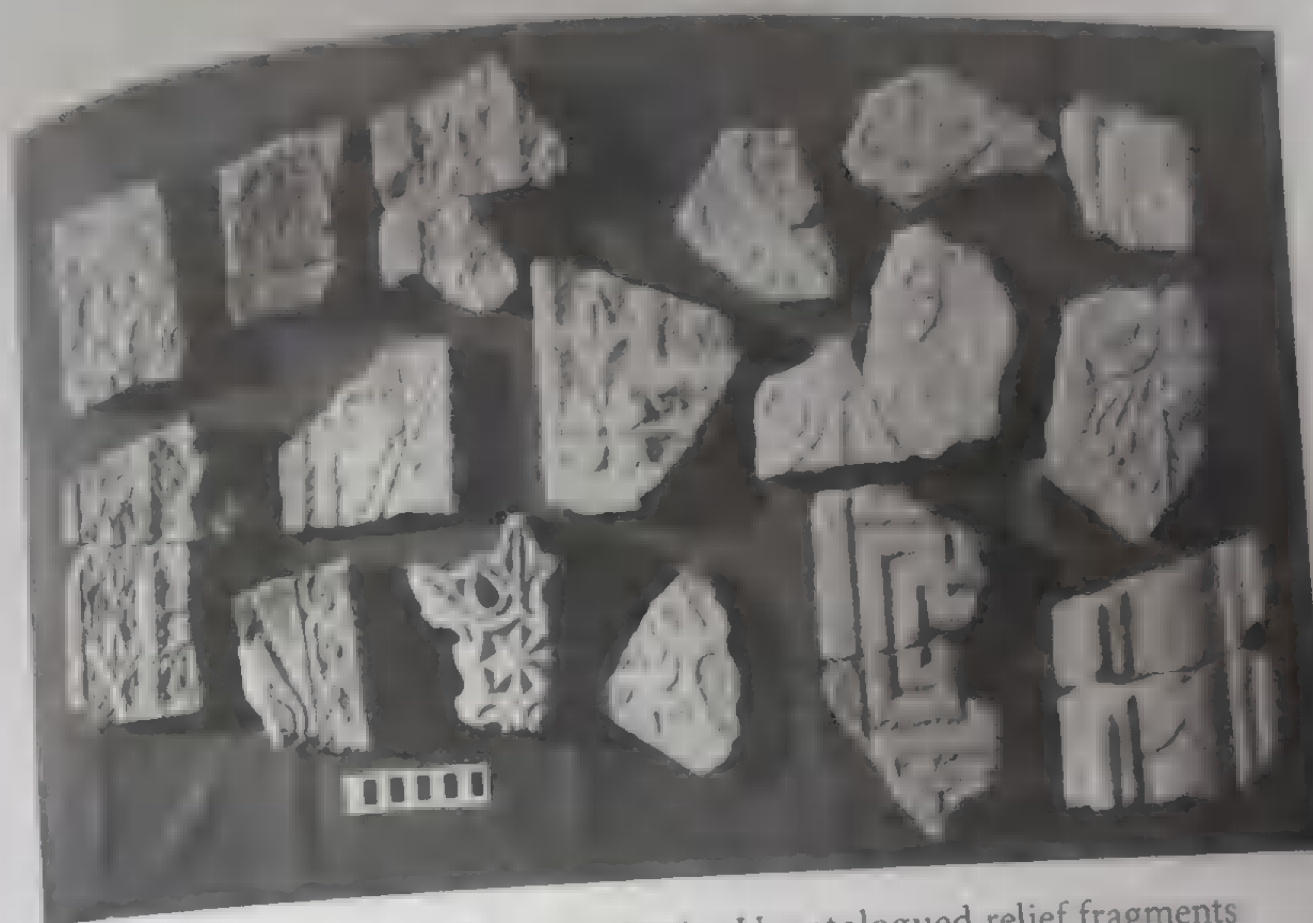


Fig. 125. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Uncatalogued relief fragments



Fig. 126. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Uncatalogued relief fragments

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Fig. 128. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
 (Caption) was not used until the building was destroyed.



Fig. 129. Church in Seleucia Pieria.



Fig. 129. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Detail of mosaic floor in ambulatory

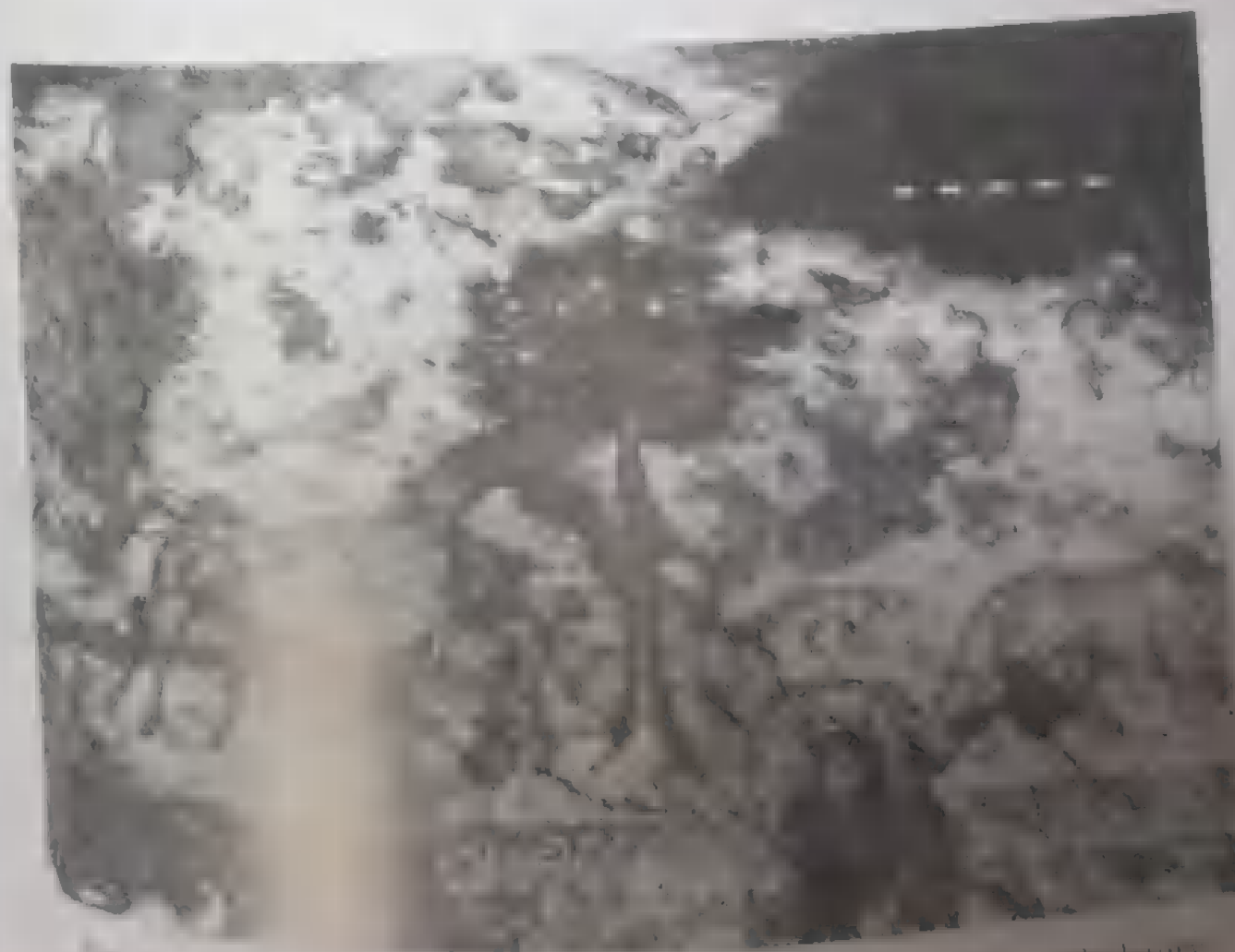


Fig. 130.

Seleucia Pieria. Detail of mosaic floor in ambulatory



Fig. 131. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Mosaic panel "N" from ambulatory



Fig. 132. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Mosaic panel "N" from ambulatory, how much weathered, remnants of original mosaic, notakya



Fig. 133. Silver dove, Attarouthi treasure, Syria, sixth century.
© 2008. Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/
Scala, Florence. Purchase, Rogers Fund, and Henry J. and Drue E. Heinz
Foundation, Norbert Schimmel and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1986.



Fig. 134a-b. Panel of topographical border. Mosaic of Megalopsychia



Fig. 135. Tyche of Antioch, Galleria dei candelabri, Vatican Museum



Fig. 136. Gold coin, Justin I, showing winged victory, Dumbarton Oaks Collection



Fig. 137. Gold coin, Justin I, showing archangel, Dumbarton Oaks Collection



Fig. 138. Copper coin, Justinian I, Dumbarton Oaks Collection



Fig. 139. Reliquary lid, Syria, Dumbarton Oaks Collection

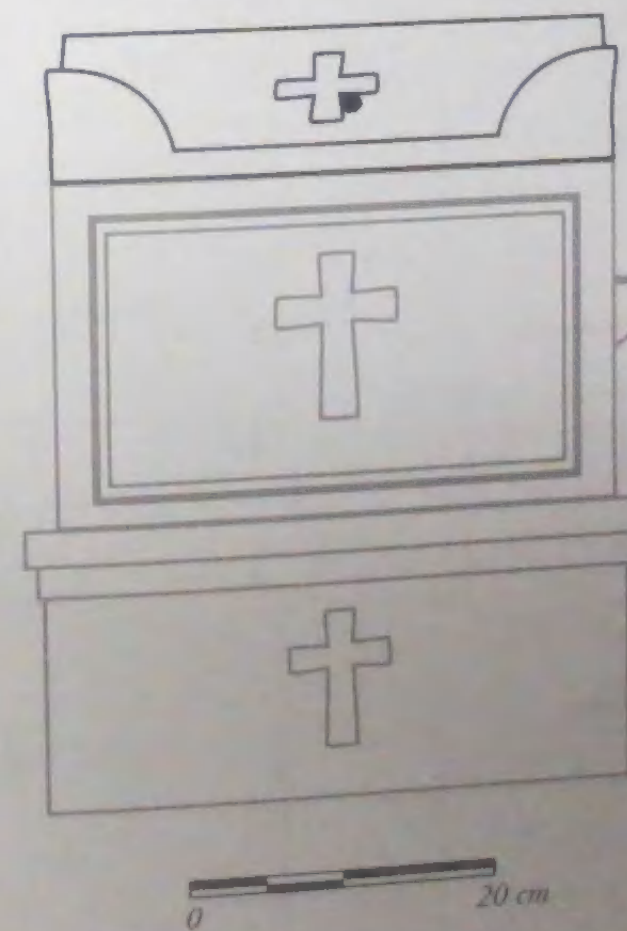


Fig. 140. Reconstruction of reliquary, based on a fifth-century example excavated at Hūarte, Syria

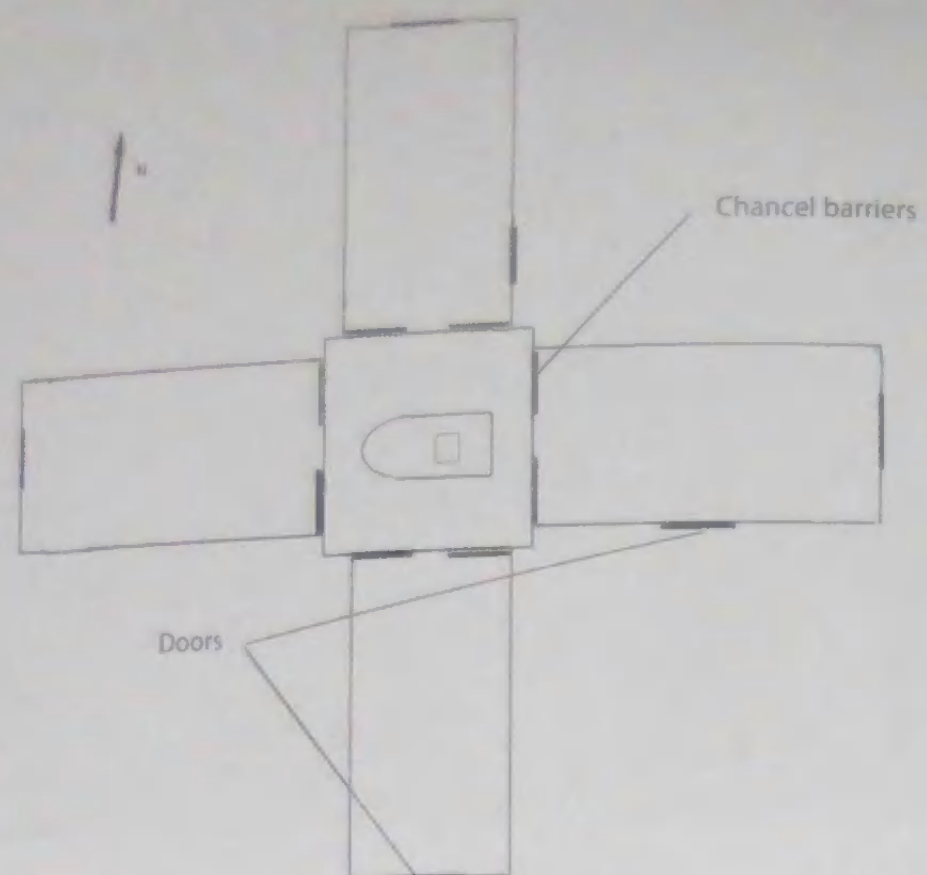


Fig. 141. Reconstruction of liturgical organization of Church of St Babylas
by Tchalenko and Baccache

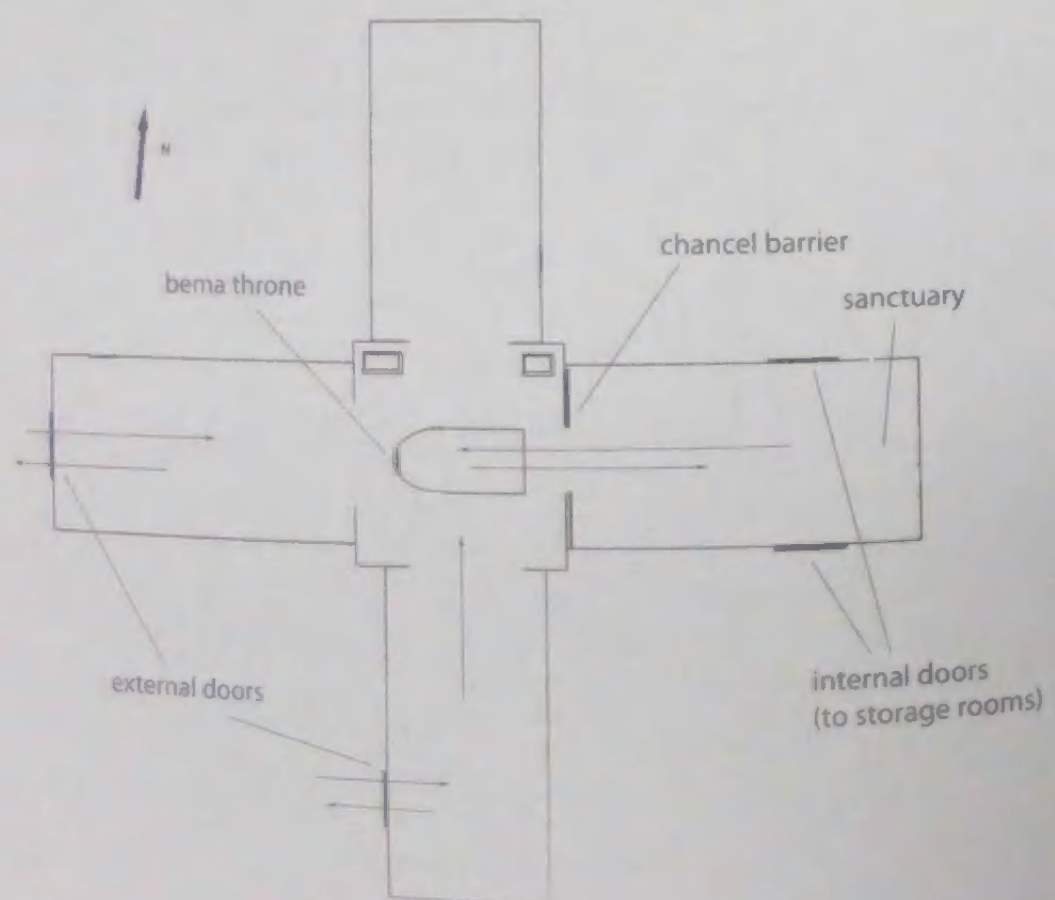


Fig. 142. Reconstruction of liturgical organization of Church of St Babylas
by Mayer